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# Outlines of Old Testament Theology

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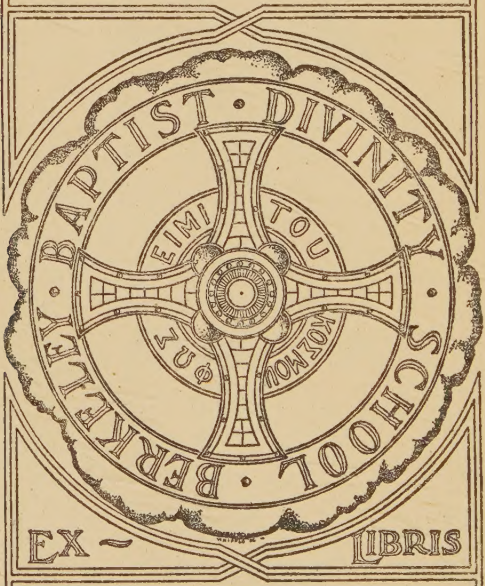


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# Outlines of
# Old Testament Theology

BY

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# THE BOOK OF JUDGES

## With Introduction and Notes

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CONTENTS.—Transliteration of Semitic Words—Introduction:—1. Title, Scope and Place in the Canon. 2. Structure. 3. The Old Narratives. 4. The Editors. 5. Chronology. 6. External Information bearing upon the Period of Judges. 7. The Permanent Religious Value of Judges. 8. Hebrew Text and Ancient Versions (pp. i-cxxviii)—Translation and Commentary (pp. 1-494)—Additional Notes—Descriptions of Illustrations and Maps and Indices (pp. 495-528).

'The magnificent specimen of English Biblical scholarship which Professor Burney has given to the world. It takes the first rank among all the Commentaries written on the Book of Judges, whether English or foreign.'—*Guardian.*

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# PREFACE

THE position which is taken in the following chapters with regard to the composition and date of the Old Testament Books, as explained in the Introduction, is that which is generally adopted by Old Testament scholars at home and abroad. Among writers who are members of the Church of England the reader may be referred to Prof. Driver, in his works as cited in this Text-book (*cf.* especially p. 1); Prof. Sanday, *Inspiration*, Lectures iii.-v.; Prof. Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*; Prof. Ryle, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, etc.; Mr. Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Testament* and *Old Testament History*; Dr. Wade, *Old Testament History*: among Scottish writers to Prof. A. B. Davidson, the author of commentaries on Job and Ezekiel in *the Cambridge Bible for Schools*, etc.; and Prof. G. A. Smith, the author of commentaries on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets in *The Expositor's Bible*, and *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*: and generally to the articles on Old Testament subjects in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. Among Roman Catholic churchmen who adopt the same position may be mentioned the Abbé Loisy, in *Les Études Bibliques*, and Baron F. Von Hügel, *The Historical Method and the Documents of the Hexateuch*, and *The Church and the Bible* (see *Dublin Review*, April and October, 1895).

Further study of the Theology of the Old Testament may be made with great profit in Dr. Schultz's *Old Testament Theology* (English trans. 1892), and in many of the articles in the *Dictionary of the Bible* above mentioned.

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# OUTLINES OF OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY

## INTRODUCTION

### COMPOSITION AND DATE OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

As a preliminary to the proper subject of this Text-Book, it is necessary to indicate, in brief outline, the principal results of the historical criticism of the Old Testament Literature which will be presupposed.

A discussion of the methods by which these results have been reached, or of the grounds upon which they rest, would here be out of place; and the reader is therefore referred to Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* for all questions which concern the date, authorship, and structure of the Old Testament books. The following sketch represents nothing more than a short statement of a few of the main points upon which there is a general consensus of opinion among Biblical students.

The Hexateuch.—The Pentateuch is not the composition of a single author, written and completed in its present form at the commencement of Israel's national life, but consists of several documents of very various ages, finally welded together at a relatively late date. These documents, which run through all the Pentateuch books except Deuteronomy (which stands apart), are found to have their due continuation in the Book of Joshua, so that, for the purpose of accurate statement, it is reasonable to include this latter book with the preceding group, and to speak of the *Hexateuch*. Analysis of the books of the Hexateuch (exclusive of Deuteronomy) divides the narrative into two broad divisions, the one of which is often termed *the Prophetical narrative*, the other *the*

*Priestly narrative.* As *the Prophetical narrative* is certainly by far the earlier in date, we will deal with this first.

The name 'prophetical' is used mainly in contradistinction to that of the other narrative, in which the priestly tone of thought is strongly apparent. The narrative cannot, however, be said to have been written with any very marked and specific religious purpose; except in so far as it presents us with the ancient traditions which surrounded the sacred sites and local sanctuaries of Palestine.

Further examination of the Prophetical narrative appears to have proved that it is not the work of one author, but itself consists of two narratives. The one of these, as mainly characterised by the use of the Divine Name Jehovah, is general called the *Jehovistic narrative,* and cited by the symbol J; the other, as using for the most part the name *Elōhīm,* is styled the *Elohistic narrative,* and cited as E.

Most critics regard J as the work of a writer belonging to the kingdom of Judah, about the middle of the ninth century B.C.; E as composed by a writer of the Northern Kingdom about a century later—the middle of eighth century B.C.

The two narratives appear to have been welded together, perhaps in the earlier part of the seventh century, by a redactor who is generally cited by the symbol JE.

J and E may be regarded as embodying elements which are of great antiquity, and which present the earliest traditions of the Hebrew race.

*The Priestly narrative* is written from the standpoint of a jurist rather than from that of an historian. History is dealt with mainly in so far as it illustrates the origin of Israel's religious institutions—the Sabbath, the prohibition of tasting blood, circumcision, and so forth. The writer has a very strongly marked phraseology, and certain set expressions are found to recur time after time in his narrative, no pains being spared to secure the minutest accuracy of statement, as in a legal document. While J and E concern themselves but little with legal enactments, containing merely the Decalogue (Ex. xx. 1-17 E), the short code of laws known as 'the Book of the Covenant,' designed to

regulate the life of a community living under simple conditions, and devoting itself chiefly to agriculture (Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 33 J), and the so-called 'second Decalogue' (Ex. xxxiv. 11-26 J), the Priestly narrative, on the other hand, is responsible for the whole of the large body of laws which are found elsewhere in Exodus, in Leviticus, and in Numbers, with the exception of a special code in Leviticus which bears close affinity to the Priestly narrative.

This narrative is therefore generally termed *the Priestly Code*, and is cited by the symbol P.

The special code in Leviticus to which reference has just been made is embodied in chaps. xvii.-xxvi., and, though in many respects closely akin to P, it is distinguished by a peculiar phraseology, and by the marked emphasis which it lays upon the duty of *holiness*, both moral and ceremonial. This latter characteristic has earned for it the title of *the Law of Holiness*, and it is therefore generally quoted as LH or H.

It cannot be reasonably disputed that P, as we know it, is not earlier than the end of the period of the Exile. The tone, standpoint, and phraseology of the document may be noticed as colouring other writings which follow upon this period, while in the works of earlier times there is not a trace of them. H seems to be rather earlier than P, and exhibits close affinities with the book of the prophet Ezekiel, who lived at the commencement of the Exile.

Between J and E on the one hand, and P and H on the other, stands the Book of *Deuteronomy* (cited as D), which is allowed on all hands to have been the Book of the Law discovered in the Temple by the high-priest Hilkiah in the eighteenth year of King Josiah (B.C. 621), as recorded in 2 Kings xxii. The Deuteronomic code holds a middle position between J's 'Book of the Covenant' and the Priestly code with the 'Law of Holiness.'[1]

[1] Upon the inter-relationship of the three codes the reader is recommended to consult the introduction to Dr. Driver's *Deuteronomy* (*International Critical Commentary*), pp. iii. ff., where will be found a synopsis of the various laws arranged in parallel columns.

**Stages by which the Hexateuch reached its present Form.**—Thus the Hexateuch may be supposed to have reached its present form through the following stages.

A narrative (J) of Israel's early history and primitive traditions—based doubtless upon older written sources and upon oral information—was drawn up in the Southern Kingdom about the time of King Jehoshaphat, *i.e. cir.* B.C. 850.

A similar narrative (E) owed its composition to a writer of the Northern Kingdom about the time of King Jeroboam II., the period at which we notice the activity first of Amos and then of Hosea, *i.e.* a little before or after B.C. 750.

This narrative was carried into the Southern Kingdom, conceivably by some member of the prophetic school, perhaps about the time of the fall of the Northern Kingdom, B.C. 722.

Then these two histories—J and E—were welded into one by a redactor (JE), who was a member of the Southern Kingdom, and who lived about the time of King Manasseh, *i.e.* between the years B.C. 700 and 650.

Deuteronomy (D) was, as we have noticed, discovered in the reign of Josiah. The book was complete in itself as we now have it, except that it lacked the *Introduction*, *i.e.* chaps. i.-iv., and the *Appendix*, chaps. xxix. to end, which were added somewhat later.

D must have been drawn up by a writer who used the old laws and narrative of JE, but placed them in a new religious setting of his own, suited to the needs of his day, and thus produced a work which may be described as the 'prophetic reformulation, and adaptation to new needs, of an older legislation.'[1] Probably the book was written some little time before its discovery in the year B.C. 621, and, having been placed in the Temple for safety during the earlier part of Josiah's reign, or during the troublous times of Manasseh, had during the interval been overlooked or forgotten.

The 'Law of Holiness' (H) appears also to be based

[1] Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 85.

upon the legislation of JE, though independently of D. It is almost certainly older than the Priestly Code, and may be considered to be about contemporary with Ezekiel, *i.e.* a little after B.C. 600. H was, no doubt, incorporated in P when this latter was promulgated, conceivably about B.C. 500.

Meanwhile that portion of JE which related to the conquest of Canaan had been worked over by an editor who was influenced by the tone and phraseology of Deuteronomy, and whose hand is therefore cited as $D^2$.

The final stage was the welding together of JE, D, and P. This brought the Hexateuch into the form in which we know it, probably about the time of Ezra, *i.e.* between the years B.C. 450 and 400.

**The Historical Books.**—The books of *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings* consist of materials drawn from various sources, some quite contemporary with, some much later than, the events which they narrate. In referring to the editing of the books as we now know them, it should be noticed that, while *Judges* and *Kings* go closely together, *Samuel* stands somewhat apart. Both *Judges* and *Kings* were compiled by editors who were strongly influenced by *Deuteronomy*, and thus the standpoint adopted in the framework of the books is wholly Deuteronomic, and the parts which are due to the editors teem with the peculiar phraseology which was first made current by the writer of *Deuteronomy*. With *Samuel* the case is different. The later-written narratives of this book exhibit a peculiar tone of their own in marked contrast to the more ancient narratives, and so have been loosely spoken of as Deuteronomic; but the Deuteronomic phraseology, as we find it in the framework of *Judges* and *Kings*, is entirely absent, and the editing of the book is therefore probably to be placed in *pre*-Deuteronomic times, perhaps even as early as B.C. 700. *Judges* and *Kings* were probably edited about B.C. 600, *Kings* at first closing with the account of Josiah's reformation, and later on receiving an appendix which carried the narrative down to the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, *i.e.* to B.C. 561.

**The Prophets.**—In dealing with the Prophets, we need

only, with one exception, to refer to the date of their books, each considered as a whole.

*Amos* and *Hosea*, *Isaiah* and *Micah* flourished during the middle and latter part of the eighth century. *Amos* prophesied in the latter portion of Jeroboam II.'s reign, *i.e.* between B.C. 760 and 746; *Hosea* a very little later. Isaiah's activity extended from the end of Uzziah's reign down to the end of the reign of Hezekiah, B.C. 740 until a little after 700, and the prophet *Micah* appears to have been a slightly younger contemporary.

To the seventh century belongs *Zephaniah*, who prophesied during the reign of Josiah, presumably before the reformation of B.C. 621, when the abuses against which he inveighs were removed. *Nahum* was very possibly earlier. His prophecy falls within the limits of B.C. 664-607 (*i.e.* between the capture of Thebes in Egypt, chap. iii. 8-10, and the fall of Nineveh), but cannot be dated more precisely. Probably *Habakkuk* prophesied during the reign of Jehoiakim, at the close of the seventh century.

*Jeremiah* commenced his prophetic career in the thirteenth year of Josiah, B.C. 626, and continued until the fall of Jerusalem, B.C. 586, when he was considerately treated by the Chaldeans, and allowed to follow his own inclinations, but was later on carried into Egypt by some of the Jews who had been left in Palestine.

*Ezekiel* was among the captives who were deported to Babylon with Jehoiachin in B.C. 597. He received his call in the year B.C. 592, and the latest date in his book (chap. xxix. 17) is twenty-two years later, B.C. 570.

*Obadiah's* short prophecy with reference to Edom was probably penned soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, B.C. 586, but cannot be dated with any precision.

The prophets of the period immediately succeeding the Exile are *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, both of whom are stated to have come forward in the second year of Darius, B.C. 520, in order to encourage the restored Judæans to carry the work of rebuilding the Temple to a successful issue. *Malachi* probably prophesied about the time of Ezra's arrival in Judah, B.C. 458, or a little later. With regard to *Joel* there is great diversity of opinion. He

has been placed by some as early as the ninth century B.C., but the general consensus of modern opinion inclines to assign his book to a date some time after the Exile.

The book of *Jonah* is not to be placed in the same category as the other books of the prophets, since it appears to be an allegorical work, the purpose of which will be noticed later. It is post-exilic.

Only in the case of the Book of Isaiah do we need to notice the presence of prophecies by other writers and in different ages.

Chaps. xl.-lv. are marked by standpoint, theology, and phraseology as the work of a later prophet who lived and prophesied during the Exile, between B.C. 549 and 538 (i.e. *after* the union of the Medes and Persians, and while Cyrus is coming into prominence as a conqueror, but *prior* to the fall of Babylon.) Chaps. lvi.-lxvi. form a collection of prophecies which can scarcely be earlier than post-exilic times.[1]

Chaps. i.-xxxix. contain, beside the genuine work of Isaiah, certain alien elements. These are chaps. xiii. 1-xiv. 23, the prophecy against Babylon, a work of the Exile; chap. xxi. 1-10 probably exilic; chaps. xxiv.-xxvii., certainly post-exilic, and perhaps as late as the Greek period—the latter part of the fourth century; chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., against Edom—exilic; and perhaps chap. xii., early post-exilic.[2]

There are, it is true, questions which concern the integrity of some of the other prophetic books—notably as to sections of Zechariah and Micah; but these are problems of comparative unimportance for our present purpose.

**The Hagiographa.**—The remaining books of the Old

[1] It is conceivable that chaps. lvi. 9-lvii. 11*a*, and possibly chap. lix. in the main, may be the work of a pre-exilic prophet of Jeremiah's age; but internal evidence on the whole favours a post-exilic date. *Cf.* Skinner's 'Commentary of Isaiah' in *The Cambridge Bible* Series.

[2] Citations from any of these *non-Isaianic* portions of the Book of Isaiah will always be made as 2 Isa.

Testament form a distinct group in the Hebrew Bible, and are known to the Jews, in distinction from the *Law*, and *the Prophets*, *earlier* (Joshua–Kings) and *later* (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets), as the *Kethūbhīm* or *Writings* (Greek *Hagiographa*). These may be stated generally to belong to the period of the Exile, and much later.

The book of *Psalms*[1] contains, in all probability, some early poems of the time of the monarchy, and some of these perhaps Davidic; but it can scarcely be believed that even the earliest collection of Psalms which went to compose our present book was drawn up until after the Exile, and some of the collections were certainly not formed until very much later, and contain poems which may be assigned with great probability to the Maccabæan age.

The book of *Proverbs* is made up of collections of very various dates. Some of the Proverbs, it may be thought, are to be assigned to the wise king, others can scarcely be earlier than post-exilic times; and therefore the redaction of the book as a whole must be post-exilic.

The book of *Job* is probably a work of the time of the Exile; certainly not earlier.

Then follow the five *Megillōth* or '*rolls*'[2]—the *Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Esther*. Of these the date of the *Song* is very doubtful, and need not here be discussed; *Ruth* seems to contain an old historical narrative, so drawn out in post-exilic times as to serve a special religious purpose (to be considered later); *Lamentations* is exilic; *Ecclesiastes* is marked by its literary style and tone as a very late post-exilic work, certainly not earlier than the close of the Persian rule (B.C. 332), and according to some critics as late as B.C. 200; and *Esther* belongs either to the close of the fourth century, or to the beginning of the third.

The book of *Daniel* was most probably composed during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 168 or 167.

[1] The order of the *Kethūbhīm*, as they are here cited, is that of the Hebrew Bible.

[2] So distinguished as appointed to be read in the synagogues at certain special seasons.

Lastly we have *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, which originally formed one work.[1] This, in its final form, can scarcely be earlier than B.C. 300, and may be as late as B.C. 200. The writer employed older sources; for the monarchy he makes use of our Samuel and Kings, and probably in parts of other old sources unknown to the compilers of the earlier historical books. But his whole narrative is dominated by the priestly tone, and, it must be thought, so adapted throughout as to serve his special purpose—the emphasising the importance of the Levitical Priesthood.

This brief sketch must here suffice as an indication of the position which will be taken in the following chapters with regard to the main questions which concern the date and composition of the various Old Testament books. The reader who wishes to gain some acquaintance with these questions will perhaps find it useful to group together a code of the Hexateuch, a prophet or prophets, and an historical book, and to observe how in the main they adopt, speaking generally, the same standpoint.

Thus with JE we may place the prophets of the eighth century, the old narratives of Judges and Kings, and Samuel to all intents as the book now stands.

With Deuteronomy we can range Jeremiah, and the editorial portions of Judges and Kings.

With P and H we may group Ezekiel and the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

[1] In the Hebrew Bible the order is Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Chronicles being strangely placed last, though it is obvious that Ezra properly forms its immediate continuation.

# CHAPTER I

## THE NAMES OF GOD, AS DESCRIPTIVE OF HIS NATURE

**Importance of God's Name among the Hebrews.**—For the Hebrews, God's *Name* is equivalent to the sum of His attributes, as revealed to His chosen people. 'How excellent,' says the poet, 'is Thy Name in all the earth!' (Ps. viii. 1.) 'They that know Thy Name will put their trust in Thee' (Ps. ix. 10). 'I will declare Thy Name unto my brethren' (Ps. xxii. 22). Indeed, any particular attribute which, to the speaker's mind, pre-eminently serves to describe—sum up—God's character, may be said to be *His Name*. 'Thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose Name is Holy' (2 Isa. lvii. 15); *i.e.* not simply, that His Name is worthy of veneration, but that the attribute described by the adjective '*Holy*' *is* His Name, may be regarded as an adequate presentation of His character. Thus, again, a psalmist says, 'Holy and awful is His Name' (Ps. cxi. 9).

It follows, therefore, that any particular name by which God was known to Israel may be taken as describing that which was thought about God at the period at which the name took its rise and was commonly used; or, to put the matter in a different way, as describing that special phase of His character in which God was pleased to make revelation of Himself. 'I am Jehovah; that is My Name; and My glory will I not give to another' (2 Isa. xlviii. 2); or, with emphatic conciseness, 'I am Jehovah'; all, *i.e.* which this special name can be understood to imply

(Lev. xviii. 5, 6, 21 ; xix. 12, 14, 16, 18, 28, 30, 32, 37, and constantly in H).

We may proceed to consider one by one the names of God in their original significance, as forming each a concise exposition of His nature.

Ēl.—The name *Ēl*, when applied to the Divine Being, is always in the English version rendered *God*. *Ēl* is common to the Semitic family, occurring in Assyrian, Phœnician, Samaritan, and Sabæan or Ḥimyaritic. In northern Arabic and Aramaic it is unusual, and perhaps exists merely as a loan-word.

That this is the most primitive word employed among the Semites to describe the Deity seems to be indicated by the fact that it is constantly used in Assyrian, and must thus be traced back to the period before the breaking off of the middle and western Semitic families from this eastern group.

In Hebrew many early names of people and places are compounded with *Ēl* (*e.g.* Isra-el, Beth-el), but the name appears to have dropped out of ordinary use at a very early period, since it is not found in such prose writings of the classical age as Judges, Samuel, and Kings. When it occurs in prose, it is nearly always defined, either by an adjective—*a great God, a merciful God, a jealous God*, etc.—or by a genitive, 'the God of vision' (Gen. xvi. 13 J), 'the God of eternity' (Gen. xxi. 33 J), 'the God of requitals' (Jer. li. 56). In poetry it is very frequently used without such definition.

Derivation and Meaning of Ēl.—The root and meaning of *Ēl* are involved in considerable obscurity. The most commonly received and best attested explanation is that it is derived from a root meaning *to be strong*, and so denotes *the strong One*. Other interpretations connect it with a root which means *to be in the fore-front—the foremost One*, or *Leader* ; or, again, suggest a root-derivation which may signify *to stretch out towards, reach after*, in accordance with which *Ēl* would describe *the Being whom men strive to reach*.

Elōhīm.—Of far greater frequency is the name *Elōhīm*, also rendered *God* by the English version, whenever the name refers to the Supreme Being. While *Ēl* occurs in

the Old Testament some three hundred times, and that most generally in poetry and in compound proper names, *Elōhīm* is found over two thousand five hundred times.

*Elōhīm* is a plural. A singular *Elōah* exists in Hebrew, but, outside Job, where it is found forty-one times, the form is very rare, and, in nearly every occurrence, late. The general view of scholars is that this singular, as found in Hebrew, is formed by inference from the plural.

This name of God is employed, in the singular, in Samaritan, Aramaic, Arabic, and Sabæan.

**Derivation and Meaning of Elōhīm.**—As to the root and meaning of *Elōhīm*, there exists some measure of doubt.

It appears that the name should be associated with a root which occurs in Arabic in the verb *'aliha*, meaning *to go to and fro* in perplexity or fear. Thus the substantive may denote *an Object of fear* or *reverence*. With this interpretation compare the manner in which God is sometimes spoken of by the title *Fear*:—'The Fear of Isaac' (Gen. xxxi. 42, 53 E; Hebrew *pāḥadh*); 'The Lord of hosts, Him shall ye sanctify; and let Him be your Fear, etc.' (Isa. viii. 13; Hebrew *mōrā*). Probably, however, the verb *'aliha* is not the *source* from which the name is derived, but, *vice versâ*, the verb is itself derived from *Ilah* (with article prefixed, *'Allah*), the Arabic singular form corresponding to the Hebrew plural *Elōhīm*. In this case *'aliha* does not account for the *original meaning* of *Elōhīm*, but simply shows that, at the time when the verb was formed, the idea (possibly only secondary) of awe or dread was associated with this name of God.

Thus very possibly *Elōhīm* and *El* ought, in the first place, to be associated; the former being regarded as an expanded plural of the latter. The common meaning may then be that which, in speaking of *Ēl*, we have already noticed, viz., *the strong One*.

**Significance of the Plural Form. Two Explanations.**—As to the significance of the use of the *plural form Elōhīm* of the one God of Israel, two explanations that have been offered are worthy of notice.

1. A Relic of Polytheism.—It has been suggested that *Elōhīm* is a relic of a polytheistic stage in Israel's religion

A form which originally denoted a plurality of deities, came later on to be used of the one God of Israel, when the exclusive claim of this one God upon Israel's allegiance was generally recognised. Against this view, it should be noticed that the plural form *Elōhīm* was employed by the Hebrews to describe, not merely the one God of Israel, but also any individual deity of the surrounding nations. So, *e.g.*, the Moabite god Chemosh is termed *Elōhīm* (Judges xi. 24); Dagon, the god of the Ashdodites, is so named (1 Sam. v. 7); the goddess Astarte (1 Kings xi. 5); and so in the case of other deities of polytheistic nations, where there can be no question of the merging of the many gods in the one.

And, again, it is difficult to believe that worshippers of a Deity who made for Himself *an exclusive claim*, as against other gods, should ever, in describing that Deity, have consciously adopted a term which of necessity carried with it polytheistic associations.

We may therefore, without prejudice to the opinion that Israel's religion was preceded by an early polytheistic stage (*cf.* Jos. xxiv. 2, 14, 15 E), decide that the view that the plural *Elōhīm* points backward to such a polytheism is scarcely probable.

2. **An intensive Plural.**—To pass to a different, and more plausible, explanation. There exist in Hebrew certain substantives which are always used in the plural form, their common bond of union seeming to be that they carry with them the idea of *indefinite extension*, whether in *time* or *space*.

Thus the words for 'youth,' *ne'ūrīm*, and 'old-age,' *zekūnīm*, are plurals, perhaps as describing periods of life of a vague or indefinite duration. More noticeable, however, are the words for the 'heavens,' *shāmáyim*, and 'water,' *máyim*, in which the plural appears to denote an extension in space of indefinite limits.

Upon this analogy, it may be thought that the plural *Elōhīm* describes God as a Being indefinitely larger, stronger, and greater in all respects, than man. Thus *Elōhīm* has been called *a plural of majesty* or *excellence*.

Other instances of this intensive plural are *'Adhōnai*, literally 'my lords,' constantly applied to God; and

*'Adhōnīm*, 'lords' (Gen. xl. 7 E; Ex. xxi. 4, 6, 8, 32 J; 1 Kings xxii. 17, etc.), *Bĕ'ālīm* 'masters' (Ex. xxi. 29, 34, xxii. 10, 11 J, etc.), applied to a man as possessor of rank or authority.

**Ēl and Elōhīm used of Beings other than the God of Israel.**—It is next to be noticed that both *Ēl* and *Elōhīm* are used to describe beings other than the God of Israel.

1. **Gods of other Nations.**—The gods of other nations may so be termed. We have already noticed that the intensive plural *Elōhīm* was often employed by the Hebrews in speaking of any individual god of the surrounding nations. *Elōhīm* and *Ēlīm* (the plural of *Ēl*) were also used to describe such deities in the aggregate.

*Elōhīm* with this significance is very constant. Indeed, wherever the plural *gods* occurs in the R.V., it may be assumed that it corresponds to *Elōhīm* in the original, except in the poetical passages, Ex. xv. 11 E; Dan. xi. 36, where it answers to *Ēlīm*.

2. **Superhuman Beings.**—*Elōhīm* may describe beings who were thought, as superhuman, to partake of the *Elōhīm*-nature, though they were not on that account regarded as objects of worship. Thus the angelic beings who were seen by Jacob in the vision at Bethel, and are called *mal'ākhīm*, *i.e. angels*, in Gen. xxviii. 12 E, are mentioned again and apparently grouped together with God under the title *Elōhīm*, Gen. xxxv. 7 E: 'He called the name of the place *Ēl-Bethel*, because there the *Elōhīm* appeared to him.' In Ps. lxxxii. 1, it is said that 'God (*Elōhīm*) standeth in the congregation of God (*Ēl*), and is judge among the *Elōhīm*.' So again a psalmist (Ps. viii. 5), in speaking of the dignity of man, says, 'Thou hast made him a little less than *Elōhīm*'; *i.e.* he falls but little short of partaking of the nature of these superhuman beings.[1]

Accordingly, we ought probably to explain Gen. i. 26, 27 P in the same way. God, after announcing His will in the society of Heaven (*cf.* 1 Kings xxii. 19, 20;

[1] The Septuagint rendering, quoted in Heb. ii. 7, is ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους.

Isa. vi. 8), 'Let us make man in our own image, then proceeds to create man 'in His image, in the image of *Elōhīm*.' Man is formed in the *Elōhīm*-mould, borne by God, and possessed in some sense by angelic beings.

More commonly, however, such beings appear under the title *Bĕnê Elōhīm, Bĕnê Elīm, i.e. sons of the Elōhīm*, so called, 'not in the physical sense, "begotten of God," or even in the moral sense, "inwardly akin to Him through piety or goodness," but as "individual beings who belong to the same class of which the full and highest development is God Himself."'[1]

Thus they are represented as living in God's society, rejoicing at the creation of the world (Job xxxviii. 7), acting at His direction, or at least rendering to Him an account of their actions (Job i. 6, ii. 1; *cf.* Ps. lxxxii. 1 above noticed). One poet invokes them to join him in the praise of God (Ps. xxix. 1), while another describes them as unworthy of comparison with Jehovah (Ps. lxxxix. 6).

On the other hand, they appear at times as acting wilfully, and, to some extent, on their own initiative. The *Bĕnê Elōhīm* were said to have had intercourse with human women, and to have begotten offspring who were the heroes of old time (Gen. vi. 1-4 J). It should be noticed also that *Satan* among the *Bĕnê Elōhīm* (Job, as cited) sets his opinion against that of God, and is suffered to act according to his own will, though within limits.

3. **Men as Possessors of God-like Power or Rank.**—The titles *Ēlīm*, *Elōhīm* are used in some few cases of *men*, as possessors of God-like power or rank. Such may be the use of *Ēlīm* in Job xli. 25; Ezek. xvii. 13, xxxii. 21; 2 Kings xxiv. 15, where the R.V. adopts the rendering *mighty*. Moses is to become *Elōhīm* in relation to Aaron, while Aaron is to act as his mouth-piece (Ex. iv. 16 J); or, again, he is to be *Elōhīm* to Pharaoh, while Aaron is to be his prophet (Ex. vii. 1 P).

*Elōhīm* is employed to denote *judges* or *rulers*, as acting as God's representatives. So Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 8, 9, 28 J, where R.V. has text *God*, marg. *the judges*; 1 Sam

[1] Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, ii. p. 216. *Cf.* also A. B. Davidson on Job i. 6.

ii. 25, R.V. text *God*, marg. *the judge*; Ps. lxxxii. 6, where it is said of the rulers who pervert judgment,

> I said, Ye are *Elōhīm*,
> And all of you sons of the Most High;
> Nevertheless, ye shall shall die like men,
> And fall like one of the princes.'

So also, the *Elōhīm* of Psalm cxxxviii. 1, in whose presence the psalmist will sing praises to God, may perhaps denote earthly potentates, if not the angelic beings whom we have already noticed. And, once more, the intensive plural *Elōhīm* appears, upon the only tenable explanation, to be used in Ps. xlv. 6 of the King who forms the subject of the poem :—

> 'Thy throne, *Elōhīm*, is for ever and ever;
> A sceptre of uprightness is the sceptre of thy kingdom:
> Thou hast loved righteousness and hated wickedness;
> Therefore hath *Elōhīm*,[1] thy *Elōhīm*, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.'

In accordance with this use of the term of the idealised theocratic monarch, we find, among the titles of the Messianic child whom Isaiah (ix. 6) pictures as already born to be the Saviour of his land, the title *Ēl-gibbōr*, 'God-mighty one.'

4. **The Apparition of a Shade.**—Lastly, it appears that *Elōhīm* could be used to describe the shades of the dead, when conjured up by necromancy, perhaps as something dreadful and supernatural. The witch of Endor, in describing Samuel's apparition, says, 'I see *Elōhīm* coming up out of the earth' (1 Sam. xxviii. 13).

**Names of the God of Israel used in Distinction from other Claimants to the Titles Ēl, Elōhīm.**—As distinct from all other claimants to the titles *Ēl* and *Elōhīm*, certain special names are applied to the one God of Israel.

The simplest method of forming such a distinctive name was by the use of the definite article, so that the

[1] Probably the poet originally wrote *Jehovah* in this latter place, and the text has been altered by a reviser.

God of Israel should be described as '*the* God,' the implication being that of Him alone is the title used in its truest and fullest sense.

**The Ēl.**—Thus we may notice the occurrence of *the Ēl*, mostly in poetical passages. Examples are:—'Thus saith the *Ēl*, Jehovah, who created the heavens and stretched them out, etc.' (2 Isa. xlii. 5); 'The *Ēl*, His way is perfect' (Ps. xviii. 30); 'The *Ēl*, who girdeth me with strength' (v. 32). *Cf.* the intervening context:—

> 'For who is God save Jehovah?
> And who is a rock, beside our God?'

**The Elōhīm.**—So also *the Elōhīm* is often used with this exclusive reference. For instance, at the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Ba'al, when the sacrifice of Jehovah's prophet has been consumed by fire from heaven, the populace with one accord exclaim, 'Jehovah, He is the *Elōhīm*; Jehovah, He is the *Elōhīm*'; *i.e. the true Elōhīm*, in contrast to the Phoenician Ba'al-Melkart (1 Kings xviii. 39). Other cases are Isa. xxxvii. 16, 'Thou art He—the *Elōhīm*, even Thou alone'; 2 Isa. xlv. 18, 'For thus saith Jehovah, who created the heavens; He is the *Elōhīm*; who formed the earth and made it'; Deut. v. 35, 39, vii. 9; 1 Kings viii. 60 (Deuteronomic Editor).

**God of gods.**—Closely allied is the name *God of gods*, *i.e.* supreme among beings of his nature. This title is uncommon. Deut. x. 17, Ps. cxxxvi. 2, Dan. ii. 47, xi. 36, are all the occurrences.[1]

**The living God.**—Or, again, we find the frequent designation *the living God*, Himself supremely energetic and the source of life. Here, as in the phrase *the God*, we have a movement in the direction of that full monotheism (as distinct from monolatry; *cf.* pp. 33 f.), before which the gods of other nations shrivel into insignificance, and finally pass away. The expression *the living God* occurs: Josh. iii. 10 (J); Hos. i. 10; Ps. xlii. 2,

[1] Ps. lxxxiv. 7, P.B.V., is not an instance in the original.

lxxxiv. 2; Deut. v. 26; 1 Sam. xvii. 26, 36; Jer. x. 10, xxiii. 36; 2 Kings xix. 4, 16 = Isa. xxxvii. 4, 17.

**Elyōn, i.e. the Most High.**—Further, the title *Elyōn* is employed; *the High One*, and so, by implication, *the Most High*. This expression, as used of the God of Israel, is exclusively poetical, occurring in Num. xxiv. 16 (Balaam's prophecy, JE), Deut. xxxii. 8 (the Song of Moses), some twenty times in the Psalms, and twice in Lam. iii. 35, 38. In Ps. lxxviii. 35, Elyōn is coupled with *Ēl*, and in *v.* 56 with *Elōhīm*.

*Elyōn*, however, is not peculiar in the mouth of Israel, and in reference to their God. It is the title of the God to whom the Canaanite priest-king Melchizedek paid homage; 'he was priest to *Ēl-Elyōn*' (Gen. xiv. 18 ff.; the source is doubtful). Again, in 2 Isa. xiv. 14, we find the same name put into the mouth of the king of Babylon, where he alludes, it may be presumed, to *his* principal deity:—

> 'I will ascend above the heights of the clouds;
> I will be like the Most High.'

We have also the testimony of Eusebius[1] that *Eliun* was used as a divine title by the Phœnicians.

**Ēl-shaddai, God Almighty: Shaddai, the Almighty.**—Finally, in this class of distinctive titles of Israel's one God, we have to notice *Ēl-shaddai*, *God Almighty*, or simply *Shaddai*, *the Almighty*.

The derivation of *Shaddai* is somewhat obscure, but there can be little doubt that the rendering of the E.V. is substantially correct. In the narrative of P, *Shaddai* appears as the name by which God reveals Himself to Abraham at the institution of the covenant by circumcision: 'I am *Ēl-shaddai*; walk before me, and be thou perfect' (Gen. xvii. 1). According to the same writer (Ex. vi. 3), God made revelation of Himself to the patriarchs by this name only, and was not known by His name Jehovah. *Shaddai* occurs elsewhere in the Pentateuch seven times, three times in P beside the

[1] *Præparatio Evangelica*, i. 10, 11

passages cited, Gen. xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 3, twice in J, Gen. xliii. 14, xlix. 35, and in Balaam's prophecy (JE), Num. xxiv. 4, 16. It is found thirty-one times in Job as an archaism ; 2 Isa. xiii. 6[1] ; Ruth i. 20, 21 ; Ezek. i. 24, x. 5 ; Joel i. 15.[1]

**Jehovah or Yahwe.**—We now pass to the name which may be termed *the proper name* of the God of Israel, the name of which the customary pronunciation, after the E.V., is *Jehovah*.

**Jehovah no true Pronunciation of the Name. Origin of the Form.**—It must be noticed at the outset that the form *Jehovah* to which we are accustomed is no real pronunciation of the name ; and was, in fact, unknown until A.D. 1520, when it was introduced by Galatinus.

*Jehovah* is formed by combination of the vowels of *Adhōnai*, i.e. *Lord*, or strictly *my Lords*, a divine title to which we shall refer later on, with the consonants JHVH of the name, which is often spoken of as the Tetragrammaton. Such a combination arose in this manner.

Hebrew, like the languages closely akin to it, was written as a living language in consonants merely. The use of points or symbols to represent the vowels is a comparatively modern invention, being not earlier than the sixth century A.D. It represents the final stage of the efforts which were made to preserve the traditional pronunciation of the language, after it had passed into disuse as a spoken tongue.

Now there are certain enactments in the Law which are aimed against a light or blasphemous employment of the sacred name. Such, *e.g.*, are the Third Commandment, and especially Lev. xxiv. 16 (H), where it is said, 'He that blasphemeth the name of JHVH shall surely be put to death ; all the congregation shall certainly stone him : as well the stranger as the home-born, when he blasphemeth the name he shall be put to death.' By the process which is known in Rabbinic phraseology as 'the

[1] In these two passages *Shaddai* is employed for the sake of a play of words ; 'as destruction (Hebrew *shōdh*) from *Shaddai* shall it come.'

making of a hedge to the Law,' it became the rule to interpret such enactments as prohibitions of the very mention of the holy name of God.[1]

Thus, in reading the Hebrew Scriptures, it was found necessary to provide some substitute for the mention of the sacred name, and this was found in the title of respect, *Adhōnai*; or, in cases where *Adhōnai* was already coupled with the Tetragrammaton, and thus its repetition seemed inadvisable, in the ordinary name for Deity, *Elōhīm*.

When, therefore, the Massoretes[2] were adding the vowel-points to the Hebrew text of the Scriptures, they wished to indicate that *Adhōnai* was to be substituted in reading for the Tetragrammaton, while at the same time they did not venture to alter any of the consonants which they had before them. Thus, to the consonants JHVH they added the vowels of Adhōnai: (i) a very short and indistinct half-vowel, which may be pronounced either as *ă* or *ĕ*, accordingly as it follows a guttural or non-guttural letter; (ii) *ō*; (iii) *ā*. Or, in cases in which *Elōhīm* was to be substituted for the name, the vowels of *Elōhīm*, *ĕ*, *ō*, *ī*, were added to the four consonants.

This proceeding was simply aimed at indicating that *Adhōnai* or *Elōhīm* were to take the place of the sacred name, and certainly not at suggesting that the combination was to be pronounced in the strange form *Jehovah* or *Jehovih*.

**Jahvéh or Yahwéh the true Pronunciation.**—What then was the true pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton? Of this the Jews themselves have preserved no tradition. We are thrown back upon inference from the contracted forms in which the name appears in compound proper names, and upon a certain small amount of independent testimony. These sources of information unite in suggesting that the pronunciation of the name was *Jahvéh*; or, if we adopt the more correct pronunciation of the consonants, using Y for J and W for V, and rejecting

[1] This interpretation is apparent in the Septuagint rendering of the passage in Lev., where the Hebrew word *nōḳēbh*, 'blaspheming,' appears as *ὀνομάζων*, 'naming.'

[2] The Massoretes were the conservators of the traditional text of the Hebrew Scriptures. *Massōra* = tradition.

the final H as possessing no consonantal value in the Hebrew, *Yahwé*.[1]

**Meaning of the Name Yahwé.**—We have now to consider the meaning of the name of *Yahwé*, as it was revealed to Moses at Horeb, to be declared by him to the tribes of Israel as the name of their God. We need not in this place enter into a discussion of the meaning which the name may have possessed in earlier times; because it is generally admitted that, whatever this meaning may have been, the name Yahwe acquired in the hands of Moses a fresh and enhanced significance.

It may be noticed that two of the documents of the Hexateuch assume that this name was unused prior to the revelation at Horeb. In the Ephraimitic narrative (E) the name is unused in Genesis, but is given to Moses as the name of God at the vision of the burning bush, and thenceforward is employed by the writer of E somewhat sparingly by the side of *Elōhīm*. In the same way, the

[1] The evidence is briefly as follows:—

1. Contracted forms.

When the name appears as first member of a compound proper name, it takes the form *Yehô*, or, by further contraction, *Yô*. Examples are *Yehô-shūa* (Joshua), *Yehô-nāthān* or *Yô-nāthān* (Jonathan), *Yehô-râm* or *Yô-râm* (Jehoram, Joram). When, on the other hand, it forms the final member, the form assumed is *Yāhū*, or, by further contraction, *Yā*, through the intermediate stage *Yāh*. Examples:—*Ēlī-yāhū* or *Ēlī-yā* (Elijah), *Ḥilkī-yāhū* or *Ḥilkī-yā* (Hilkiah. The longer form, *Yāhū*, is always shortened into *Yāh*, in the E.V., so as to be indistinguishable). *Yāh* appears also as a separate form of the name, most frequently in the formula *Hallelu-yāh*. Both the forms *Yehô* and *Yāhū* can be shown by analogy to be modifications of an original *Yahw*, itself a contraction of the full form *Yahwé*.

2. Independent testimony.

Theodoret and Epiphanius state that the pronunciation of the name among the Samaritans was Ἰαβέ, *i.e. Yahwe*. A similar form, Ἰαή, is given as one pronunciation by Diodorus Siculus and Origen. Other forms cited by Christian writers as derived from Jewish sources seem to represent the contracted forms *Yahu* or *Yah*. Schultz notices that the full form of the name is thus derived from the Samaritans who would not have felt bound to conceal it, while, as might be expected, the Jews only communicate to Gentiles the (less sacred) contracted forms of the name; cf. *Old Test. Theology*, ii. 133.

writer of P avoids the use of the name Yahwe until he has given an account of its revelation to Moses in Ex. vi. 2-3: 'And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am Yahwe; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as El-shaddai; but by My name Yahwe I did not make Myself known unto them.' From this point onwards P uses the name without restraint. On the other hand, the name Yahwe is employed by J from the commencement of the narrative of this writer in Genesis.

In form, Yahwe is 3rd person masculine singular Imperfect of a verb—such a form as appears in Hebrew in a few other proper names; *e.g.* Isaac, *he laughs*, and so, *the laugher*, Jacob, explained as *he supplants*, or *the supplanter*.

The verb from which Yahwe is derived is *hāwā*, a bye-form of the more usual *hāyā*, which means *to be*, or, more accurately, *to become* or *to befall*. Thus, upon the analogy of the proper names of similar formation which we have just noticed, Yahwe ought to signify *He becomes* or *He will become*.

This appears to be the explanation of the passage in E which narrates the revelation of the name, the significance of the 3rd person Imperfect being elucidated by the employment of the 1st person (Ex. iii. 13-15).

The passage may be thus rendered: 'And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say unto me, What is His name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, *I will become what I will become* (or, *I become* [frequentative] *what I do become*): and He said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, *I will become* hath sent me unto you. And God said unto Moses, Yahwe (*He will become*), the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is My name for ever, and this is My memorial unto all generations.'

'He who becomes,' the Name of Revelation.—Thus *Yahwe* is shown to mean *He who will become* or *He who becomes* (frequentative), the God who not merely exists in a

condition of passive being, but who *asserts His existence*, displays Himself to His chosen people, throughout their history, by a series of progressive revelations. And the force of the formula, *I will become what I will become*, appears to be that no words can adequately sum up all that Yahwe *will become* to Israel. The name Yahwe is thus, in a pre-eminent degree, *the name of Revelation*.

**The absolutely Self-determined and Unchangeable.**—And again, *I will become what I will become* suggests the idea of *absolute self-determination. He who will become* is absolutely self-determined, and therefore *unchangeable, true to His promise or His threatening*. This is an aspect of the name which seems especially to have impressed itself upon some of the later prophets. 'I am Yahwe, that is My name, and My glory will I not give to another, nor My praise to graven images' (2 Isa. xlii. 8). 'For I am Yahwe; I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed' (Mal. iii. 6). Such also appears to be the force of the formula which is so characteristic of Ezekiel, 'And they (ye, thou) shall know that I am Yahwe' (vi. 7, 13, vii. 4, 9, etc.).

**'He,' in this Sense combined with or substituted for Yahwe.**—In passages of this character, where the idea of Israel's God as the Absolute and Unchangeable is prominent, we sometimes find the 3rd personal pronoun combined with or substituted for the name; in such cases a play upon the similarity of consonants in the two titles being very possibly intended.[1] 'I, I am **He**, and beside Me there is no God' (Deut. xxxii. 39, Song of Moses). 'I, Yahwe, first, and with the last I am **He**' (2 Isa. xli. 4). 'Ye are My witnesses, saith Yahwe, and My servant whom I have chosen: that ye may know, and believe Me, and understand that I am **He**; before Me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after Me. I, even I, am Yahwe, and beside Me there is no Saviour. I have declared, and I have saved, and I have showed, and there was no strange God among you: therefore ye are My witnesses, saith Yahwe, and I am

[1] הוּא *hū*=He; יְהוָה=Yahwe.

God. Yea, since the day was I am He; and there is none that can deliver out of My hand: I work, and who can reverse it?' (2 Isa. xliii. 10-13). 'Even to old age I am He' (2 Isa. xlvi. 4). And, once more, 'Thou art He, and Thy years have no end' (Ps. cii. 27).

**Summary of different Explanations of the Name Yahwe.**—Other explanations which have been given of the name Yahwe may be briefly noticed. If we ignore small variations in detail, they may be said to be two.

1. *He who is, the Self-existent,* or *Eternal.* The formula of Ex. iii. 14 will then mean *I am what I am,* or *I am because I am.*

Such an explanation is, however, untrue to the sense of the verb *hāwā* or *hāyā,* which signifies not *to be,* but *to become.* It may be suggested, also, that the idea of God as pure Being, as distinct from Being which is Self-assertive, manifesting Itself in Revelation, is an idea too metaphysical to have appealed to the early Hebrew mind.

Certainly this conception of the Self-existent or Absolute is near to that view of Yahwe's Being which we have seen to be put forth by some of the prophets of the later age. But the process by which the conception was reached appears, in this latter case, to have been somewhat different. Not directly through the idea of simple Being, but through the idea of *Being manifesting Itself in action, unlimited in all respects.*

2. The form *Yahwe,* considered as an Imperfect of the verb *to become,* may be regarded as possessing not merely the simple or neuter significance, but also a *causative* significance. Thus the name might conceivably denote *He who causes to come into being* or *befall,* or even in a physical sense, *Who causes to fall* (lightning, rain, etc.).

This view, in one or another of its various modifications, has found many supporters. A consideration, however, which seems to be fatal to its acceptance, is that the causative conjugation of the verb *hāwā* or *hāyā* is used in no Semitic language, and, even if we grant that it *could* be used, its employment without specification of that which is brought about would appear to be highly anomalous. As Professor Robertson Smith observed,[1]

[1] *Foreign Evangelical Review,* 1876.

the disposition to regard Yahwe as a causal form seems to have arisen in a large measure as a protest against the abstract character of the exegesis of Ex. iii. 14. In the view of the meaning of the name which has above been adopted, which gives to the verb its proper significance *to become* rather than *to be*, all reason for such a protest disappears.[1]

**Yahwe-Elōhīm.**—The name Yahwe in combination with *Elōhīm* used absolutely—*Yahwe-Elōhīm*—is somewhat uncommon, and the passages in which it does so occur are generally thought to have been worked over by later editors. We need here only to notice the opening section of J, Gen. ii. 4*b*—iii. 23, where *Yahwe-Elōhīm* (rendered the *Lord God*) occurs twenty times. In this case two views have been put forward; either that *Elōhīm* was inserted in the narrative of J by the final redactor of the Hexateuch, in order to make natural the transition for i. 1—ii. 4*a* (P); *or*, that *Yahwe* was inserted by J into an early narrative which contained only the name *Elōhīm*.

**Yahwe thy (your, his, their, my, our) God: a Deuteronomic Phrase.**—Yahwe in combination with *Elōhīm* defined by a possessive pronoun—*Yahwe thy* (*your, his, their, my, our*) *God*—occurs five times in the Ten Commandments (Ex. xx. 2-12 E = Deut. v. 6-16), and a few times besides in J, E, JE, and writings earlier than D; but does not come into marked prominence until D, who uses it three hundred times. The combination is used frequently in writings of a later age than D, especially in the parts of Kings which are due to the Deuteronomic Editor.

**Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth, Yahwe of Hosts, or, Yahwe the God of Hosts.**—The title *Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth, i.e. Yahwe of hosts*, or, more fully and correctly, *Yahwe Elōhē Ṣebhā'ōth, Yahwe, the God of hosts*, is an ancient title of the God of Israel, which occurs several times in the old narratives of Samuel and Kings, and very frequently in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi; as well as a few times in Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Joel, Nahum,

[1] See further, on the meaning of *Yahwe*, Driver, *Studia Biblica*, vol. i.; and, for a summary of the views which have been held the Oxford *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 218.

Habakkuk, and 2 Isaiah. In the Psalms there are several occurrences. The title is not, however, found in the Hexateuch or in Ezekiel.

To its meaning we shall have occasion to refer later. Here it may be briefly noticed that the *hosts* which belong to Yahwe were probably in the earliest times the armies of Israel, which He, as their national God, was believed to lead forth to battle with their foes, and the gods of their foes. In later days, when monolatry began to give place to monotheism, the old phrase was taken up and made to refer to Yahwe not merely as God of the hosts of Israel, but also of the hosts of heaven, the stars and the forces of nature, as well as spiritual and invisible agencies.

**Names which describe God as Possessor of Rank or Dominion.**—We come now to a class of names which describe the God of Israel in terms which denote rank or dominion—titles which could be and were also regularly applied to human beings. These are *Ādhōn* or *Adhōnai*, *Ba'al*, and *Mélekh*.

1. **Ādhōn, Lord; Ădhōnai, my Lord.**—*Ādhōn*, which means *lord*, *Ădhōnai*, *my lord*, or literally *my lords*, a plural of majesty, are simply titles of respect. Both the singular *Ădhōnī*, and also the intensive plural *Ădhōnai*, are used of men, and may be rendered *my lord* or *sir*. For the distinction of this intensive plural from the same form employed of men, a small difference in vocalisation was made by the Massoretes, the word in the former case receiving *ā* in the final syllable, while in the latter case the vowel is *ă*.

*Ādhōn* and *Ădhōnai* occur constantly in Phœnician as titles of deities. It is only necessary to cite the title *Adonis* applied to the god Tammuz. The title is also frequent in Phœnician composite proper names. *Adhōnī-'eshmun*, *Eshmun is lord*, *Adhōnī-ba'al*, *Ba'al is lord*, etc., are forms which exactly resemble *Adhōnī-yā*, *Adhōnī-yāhū* (Adonijah), *Yāh* or *Yāhū is lord*. *Adhōnai* as a proper name of God, taking the place of Yahwe, occurs sporadically in many of the prophetical and poetical books—most frequently in the Psalms (especially the later Psalms), Isaiah (never in 2 Isa. except xlix. 14), Samuel,

and Daniel. In the Historical books it seems only to be found here and there, always *in addresses to Yahwe*, except in 1 Kings xxii. 6; 2 Kings vii. 6. The manner in which *Ădhōnai* was in later times substituted for Yahwe, has already been noticed (p. 20).

2. **Ba'al.**—The name *Ba'al* is familiar as the title applied to the local deities of the Canaanites, towards the worship of whom, in one form or another, the tribes of Israel were constantly prone, from the days of the settlement in Canaan and onward to the close of the monarchy. The statement, therefore, that this title was in early times used innocently to describe the God of Israel may at first sight seem strange and improbable. But that such was the case appears from the evidence to be clear.

There are a number of proper names into the composition of which *Ba'al* enters, and is certainly applied to Yahwe.

Thus Saul in the narrative of Samuel always appears as a zealous worshipper of Yahwe, and one of his sons bears the name Jonathan, *i.e. He whom Yahwe hath given.* Another son, however, is named *Esh-ba'al, i.e. Man of Ba'al* (1 Chr. viii. 33, ix. 39). Jonathan has a son whose name, according to 1 Chr. viii. 34, appears as *Merīb-ba'al, i.e.* perhaps *Ba'al is a contender,* or, in 2 Chr. ix. 40, *Merī-ba'al.* Again, one of David's heroes is named *Ba'al-yādhā', Ba'al knows* (1 Chr. xiv. 7); one of his officers is called *Ba'al-ḥānān, Ba'al is gracious* (1 Chr. xxvii. 28), and—the most notable instance of all—one of his heroes actually bears the name *Ba'al-yā, Yā* or *Yahwe is Ba'al* (1 Chr. xii. 5). Accordingly, it may be considered probable that *Jerub-ba'al,* the name of Gideon, which is interpreted (Judges vi. 32) as *one who strives with Ba'al* (the Canaanite Ba'al), really originally denoted *Ba'al* (*i.e.* Yahwe) *strives* or *contends.*

There seems, however, to have existed among the bulk of the people a tendency to confuse *Ba'al* as used of Yahwe with the Canaanite *Ba'al.* Thus, in Hosea's time the use of the title was felt to be dangerous to the true religion of Yahwe, and the prophet therefore discourages its use: 'And it shall be at that day, saith Yahwe, that thou shalt call Me *Īshī* (my husband); and shalt call Me

no more *Baʿali* (my *Baʿal*). For I will take away the names of the *Bĕʿālīm* out of her mouth, and they shall no more be mentioned by their name' (Hos. ii. 16, 17). Ultimately, owing no doubt to such discouragement on the part of the prophets, the use of *Baʿal* as a title of Yahwe appears to have been totally discontinued, until it was forgotten that the name had ever so been used. In later times it became the custom to avoid mention of the Canaanite *Baʿal* by substitution of the word *bósheth, i.e. shame*, or *the shameful thing*. Instances of this may be seen in Hosea ix. 10, 'They came to Baʿal-peʿor, and consecrated themselves unto the shameful thing'; Jer. iii. 24, 'The shameful thing hath devoured the labour of our fathers from our youth'; Jer. xi. 13, 'According to the number of the streets of Jerusalem have ye set up altars to the shameful thing, even altars to burn incense unto Baʿal.' Such changes are probably in every case the work of later revisers.[1]

The same disguise was adopted in the case of the proper names to which we have alluded, apparently upon the theory that they contained allusion to the Canaanite *Baʿal*. Thus *Esh-baʿal* became *Īsh-bósheth* (2 Sam. ii. 8, etc.), *Merīb-baʿal* apparently first *Mĕphī-baʿal*,[2] *i.e. He who scatters* or *disperses Baʿal*, then *Mĕphī-bósheth* (2 Sam. ix. 6, etc.). *Jerub-baʿal*, in Judges, being interpreted, as the narrative (vi. 32) shows, in the sense *He who contends with Baʿal*, was suffered to remain; but in 2 Sam. xi. 21, we find the altered form *Jerub-bésheth*.

*Baʿal-yādhāʿ*, in which *Baʿal*, as forming part of the name of one of *David's* sons, obviously referred to Yahwe, became *Ēl-yādhāʿ* (2 Sam. v. 16).

It is noticeable that the more original forms of these names belong to the genealogies of Chronicles, while the altered forms appear in the narratives of Samuel. The explanation seems to be that the names were altered in the parts of the Old Testament which were more generally

[1] The same alteration is frequent in the Septuagint, where ἡ αἰσχύνη takes the place of *Baʿal*, or the strange ἡ Βαὰλ (constantly in Jeremiah) indicates that αἰσχύνη is to be substituted.

[2] So in Lucian's recension of the Septuagint Μεμφιβαὰλ occurs constantly, except in 2 Sam. xxi. 8.

read, while they were overlooked or suffered to stand in the less frequently read portions.

**Meaning of Ba'al, 'Master' or 'Owner.'**—We now have to notice the meaning of the title *Ba'al*. Used generally, the word denotes *master* or *owner*. Thus a bird may be described as *ba'al* or *owner* of wings (Prov. i. 17), a ram as *owner* of horns (Dan. viii. 6, 20), even a threshing-wain may be *ba'al—owner* of mouths (2 Isa. xli. 15). Or, to take cases which are more closely apposite to our subject, citizens or freeholders of a city or district are often named its *bĕ'ālīm* or *owners*: Josh. xxiv. 11 (E; Jericho), Num. xxi. 28 (E; the high-places of Arnon), Judges ix. 2 (Shechem), etc.: or a man is *ba'al* of his wife—her *owner* or *lord*: Gen. xx. 3 (E); Ex. xxi. 3, 22 (E); Deut. xxii. 22, etc.

Similarly, each local *Ba'al* of the Canaanites was regarded as *owner* of a special limited *district* where his influence was thought to be discerned in the exceptional fertility of the soil or in some peculiar physical characteristic of the locality. There his sanctuary was erected and his worship maintained. So we meet with such place-names as *the Ba'al of Hermon* (Judges iii. 3), *the Ba'al of Mĕ'ōn* (Num. xxxii. 38 JE) or *the House of the Ba'al of Mĕ'ōn* (Josh. xiii. 17 P), *the Ba'al of Shālīshā* (2 Kings iv. 42).[1]

There are no traces of Yahwe's having been regarded as *Ba'al* of any special limited locality where His sanctuary was erected, so that He might have appeared under different aspects in different places. Such a conception would have been virtually a drifting into the polytheistic nature-religion of the Canaanites — a serving of the *Bĕ'ālīm*—and, as it can only have been held by the unspiritual Israelites and not by the conservators of the true (Mosaic) religion, needs not to come into consideration in dealing with the use of the term *Ba'al* as applied to Yahwe. Probably, when Yahwe was spoken of as *Ba'al*, the implied meaning was that He was *Over-lord* or *Owner* of His land *as a whole*, and might manifest His

[1] *Cf.* especially Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 92 ff.

power or receive worship at any place within its limits. This is a conception which belongs to the period of Israel's *monolatry*, or the worship of one God, not as God of the whole earth, but peculiarly as *the God of Israel's land*. To this subject we shall have occasion to refer later.

The conception of Yahwe as *Ba'al* in the sense of *Owner* or *Husband* of His people who is regarded as His wife, appears, as we have noticed, in Hos. ii. 16, 17; but is probably the prophet's own creation, and was never in vogue while the title *Ba'al* was generally applied to Yahwe.

It is seen again later in the use of the *verb bā'al* of Yahwe's relationship to Israel by Jeremiah: 'Return, O backsliding children, saith Yahwe; for I am a husband unto you' (iii. 14); 'The house of Judah . . . who brake My covenant, though I was a husband unto them, saith Yahwe' (xxxi. 32). So also in 2 Isa. liv. 5, 'For thy maker is thy husband, Yahwe Sebhā'ōth is His name.'

3. **Mélekh, King.**—Again, the evidence of proper names makes it clear that the title *Mélekh, i.e. King*, must have been used of Yahwe in early times, much in the same way as the surrounding nations employed this title of their deities.

Thus we meet with *Abi-mélekh, the King is father*, the name of the son of Jerubba'al (Gideon; Judges viii. 31, etc.); and of a son of the priest Abiathar (1 Chr. xviii. 16). Precisely the same name belongs to a king of Gerar in the Philistine country, mentioned in connection with the history of Abraham (Gen. xx. 1-17, xxi. 22-32 E), and of Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 7-11, 26-33 J). *Eli-mélekh, the King is God*, or *God is King*, appears as the name of the husband of Naomi (Ruth i. 2, etc.); *Aḥi-mélekh, the King is brother*, is the name of a priest in the days of Saul and David (1 Sam. xxi. 2 ff.), and is perhaps the same as *Aḥi-ya, Yah is brother* (1 Sam. xiv. 3), since each is named the son of Ahitub. The same name is given (1 Sam. xxvi. 6) as the name of a Hittite, and also appears commonly in Phœnician inscriptions in the form *Ḥīmilk*.

We may further notice *Malki-shūa', the King is salvation* or *opulence*, the name of a son of Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 49, xxxi. 2); *Malki-rām, the King is exalted*, or *the*

*exalted One is King*, a son of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), king of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 18); *Malki-ēl, Ēl is King*, the name of a family of the tribe of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17 P; Num. xxvi. 45 P; 1 Chr. vii. 31).

In these collected instances it appears that the reference of *Mélekh* to Yahwe is certain.[1] It should be noticed that *Abi-mélekh, Aḥi-mélekh* are names of priests of Yahwe; *Malki-shūa'*, as a son of Saul, stands by the side of Jonathan, *i.e. Yahwe hath given*; and the names of brothers of *Malki-rām* are given as Pedaiah, Jekamiah, and Nedabiah, all names compounded with *Yāh*.

It is also instructive to observe that nearly all these names may be paralleled by names of exactly the same formation in which the name of Yahwe takes the place of the title *mélekh*.

Thus, like *Abi-mélekh*, we find *Abi-yā* or *Abi-yāhū*; like *Eli-mélekh, Eli-yā* or *Eli-yāhū*; like *Ahi-mélekh Aḥi-yā* or *Aḥi-yāhū*; like *Malki-shūa', Yehô-shūa'*; like *Malki-rām Yehô-rām* or *Yô-rām*.

There remains one name compounded with *mélekh* which may be placed last, as standing apart and belonging to a later phase of thought. *Malki-yā* affirms something not of *mélekh* used almost as a proper name, but of *Yah*; *Yah is king*. Probably, therefore (as is indicated by the fact that the name is most abundant when the other names compounded with *mélekh* which we have noticed have become obsolete[2]), the name belongs to a stage of religious thought which is fully monotheistic: *Yah is King*, not merely of His own land and people, but *of the whole earth*. This is the idea which forms the text or motto of a whole group of post-exilic psalms;

[1] *Nĕthan-mélekh, the king has given*, the name of an Eunuch of the court of Manasseh or Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 11), *Ebed-mélekh, servant of the king*, an Ethiopian Eunuch of Zedekiah (Jer. xxxviii. 7, etc.), are not cited, since in these cases the reference of *mélekh* is ambiguous.

[2] The occurrences are Jer. xxi. 1, xxxviii. 6, contemporary with Jeremiah; Ezra x. 25, 31, Neh. iii. 11, 14, 31, viii. 4, x. 4, post-exilic. 1 Chr. vi. 40 assigns the name to a pre-Davidic Levite, 1 Chr. xxiv. 9 to a pre-Davidic Levitical family, but in both these cases the lists appear to be of questionable historical value. *Cf* Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 119.

'Yahwe reigneth' (xciii. 1, xcvii. 1, xcix. 1); 'Say ye among the nations, Yahwe reigneth' (xcvi. 10); *cf.* xlvii. 8; 2 Isa. xxiv. 23, lii. 7.[1]

**God described in Terms which imply Relationship to His Worshipper; 'Father' or 'Brother.'**—Finally, it is to be observed that the evidence of a class of proper names shows that the God of Israel could be spoken of in terms which imply *clan-relationship* towards the bearers of the names—the relationship of *Father* or *Brother*. The following may be cited as principal instances:—

*Abi-ēl* or *Eli-āb*, *Ēl is Father* (sc. of the bearer of the name); *Abi-yā* or *Yô-āb*, *Yahwe is Father*; *Ḥi-ēl*, standing for *Aḥi-ēl*, *Ēl is Brother*; *Aḥi-ya* or *Yô-aḥ*, *Yahwe is Brother*. No doubt also *Abi-hu* belongs to the same class—*He* (i.e. *Yahwe*) *is Father*. We have already had occasion to notice *Abi-mélekh*, *the King is Father*; *Aḥi-mélekh*, *the King is Brother*.

Similar names are found among other Semitic races. We may notice *Abi-milki*, which occurs as the name of a king of Tyre on the Tell el Amarna tablets, cir. 1400 B.C. *Abi-ba'al*, *Ba'al is father*, is another Phœnician name. *Abu-malik*, *the King is father*, is found in Assyrian.

Names of this class in Hebrew are early rather than late. They appear to have been freely formed and used up till the time of David. After that time their use seems to have decreased, and at the time of the Exile they were nearly obsolete.[2]

The names seem to contain a survival of the old idea of clan- or blood-relationship between the deity and his worshipper. Probably they were given to children in order to place them specially under the care of the tribal or national God. Their disuse among the Israelites may perhaps be traced to an enlarged view of Yahwe's sphere as the God not merely of Israel, but of the whole earth, *i.e.* to the abandonment of monolatry in favour of monotheism; and with this to a heightened sense of Yahwe's majesty and holiness, and of the moral qualifications which these attributes demanded from his worshippers.

[1] Gray, *op. cit.* pp. 119 f.

[2] *Cf.* Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 38, and Table of Names, pp. 277-280.

# CHAPTER II

## GOD'S DWELLING-PLACE

**Monolatry as distinct from Monotheism.**—Two or three times in the course of the preceding chapter the term *Monolatry* has been used in distinction from *Monotheism*, and it has been briefly indicated that this term—which means *the worship of one God only*, as distinct from *the belief in the existence of one God only*—embodies the true description of the earlier stage of Israel's national religion; because at this earlier stage Yahwe was thought of, not as the only Divine Being in existence, but as the only Divine Being with whom Israel as a nation had any concern, or to whom they were bound by any obligation. Yahwe, in short, was the national God, and, as national God, He made an exclusive claim upon Israel's allegiance, and would not tolerate the worship of any other god beside Himself. Such a view, however, of Israel's relationship towards Yahwe obviously did not hinder the belief that other nations might also have *their* national gods, and that these gods, though concerned only with their own nations, and in no position to exact worship or any other form of notice from Israel, were not merely false gods or idols, but had a real existence of their own.

This is the meaning of the term *Monolatry*. Yahwe was Israel's national God, and their only God; but, at the same time and in much the same way, Chemosh was Moab's national God, Milcom Ammon's national God, and so on. It is true that Chemosh and Milcom had no concern with Israel; but that was merely because they were exclusively concerned with their own nations, just

as Yahwe was exclusively concerned with *His* own nation. They might be held really to exist, even though they did not enter in any way into Israel's religion.

**Evidence that Yahwe was at first regarded as God of the Land of Israel.**—Now it is reasonable that evidence should be required in proof of such a view of Israel's earlier belief. When it is remembered that many of the writing prophets emphasise the fact that Yahwe has dealings with nations other than Israel, and speak of the deities of the surrounding nations as being merely idols without power or life, it may be asked whether there are grounds sufficient to demonstrate that this full monotheism was not always from the beginning of Israel's national existence held by sincere worshippers of Yahwe, but was preceded by such a stage of belief as is described by the term *Monolatry*.

This evidence we have now to consider (i) by review of a number of passages in which Yahwe seems to be pictured as a strictly national God, whose sphere or dwelling-place is His own land of Israel, and (ii) by more general notice of sacred places or local sanctuaries regarded as *scenes of Yahwe's Theophanies within His land*, and by observation of the fact that the decline and disappearance of these many local sanctuaries and the centralisation of cultus is connected with the wider conception of Yahwe's Being as unconfined by limits of space—omnipresent.

**Passages in which Yahwe is pictured as a strictly National God.**—We have first to notice the words of Jephthah, the Gileadite chieftain, in which he expostulates with the Ammonites for their encroachments upon the territory of Israel east of Jordan. 'So now Yahwe, the God of Israel, hath dispossessed the Amorites from before His people Israel, and shouldest thou possess them? Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever Yahwe our God hath dispossessed from before us, them will we possess' (Judges xi. 23, 24). Here Jephthah seems to regard Chemosh as having as real an existence as Yahwe, the difference being that he is bound by the ties of religion to his own national God, while with the god of the Ammonites he has no concern, except that he stands towards him in a

relationship of hostility if he ventures to allow his people to encroach upon Yahwe's territory.

In another passage of interest in this connection David is speaking of the persecution to which he is subject at the hands of Saul. 'If it be Yahwe,' he says, 'that hath stirred thee up against me, let Him accept an offering: but if it be the children of men, cursed be they before Yahwe; for they have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the heritage of Yahwe, saying, Go, serve other gods' (1 Sam. xxvi. 19). The fact that David is driven outside of Yahwe's heritage—His land—means to him that he is *ipso facto* precluded from the worship of Yahwe. He cannot serve Yahwe in a territory which Yahwe does not occupy, over which He exercises no supervision; but, in such a position, can only worship the gods to whom the territory belongs. In short, a change of territory is thought to imply a change of religion, just as a man, in passing into a new country, finds himself subject to the dominion of a new monarch.

Closely allied is a very noticeable passage—2 Kings v. 17. Naaman, the Syrian general, has been cured of his leprosy by Elisha, the prophet of Yahwe, and therefore he is convinced that Yahwe is a God of unequalled power. 'Behold now,' he says (*v.* 15), 'I know that there is no God in all the earth but in Israel.' This being so, he wishes to have it in his power to offer sacrifice to Yahwe only, and for this purpose he asks leave to carry away with him to Syria two mules' burden of the soil of Yahwe's land, in order that he may erect upon it an altar to Yahwe. Here, no doubt, the view of the Syrian is that Yahwe cannot rightly be worshipped outside His land, but that if he can secure a portion, however small, of the soil of that land, he will with it gain the privilege of sacrificing to the God to whom it belongs. And Elisha apparently acquiesces in his request, for he dismisses him with the encouraging words, 'Go in peace.'

We now pass to a remarkable passage. Yahwe's worshippers, Israel and Judah, allied with Edom, are campaigning against Moab in the land of the Moabites, *i.e.* in the territory of the god Chemosh; and Chemosh

is actually supposed by the Hebrew writer to have been stirred up by his worshipper, Mesha', king of Moab, so as to cause the allied forces to retreat from his land. In his extremity the king is related to have offered up his eldest son as a burnt-offering, and the narrative then goes on to state that 'there came great wrath upon Israel: and they departed from him, and returned to their own land' (2 Kings iii. 26, 27). Here the *great wrath* is the wrath of Chemosh, who is supposed to have been at first offended with his worshipper, and so to have permitted him to be worsted; but is imagined by the narrator to have been so appeased by the costly sacrifice as to have roused himself against the aggressors, and driven them out of the Moabite territory. Chemosh, in fact, is thought to have successfully defended his own land against Yahwe, who was leading on the forces of Israel and Judah.[1]

The view which we see to be put forward in this passage, that Israel, in going to battle outside their territory, has to reckon not merely with the foreign foe, but with the god of that foe upon his own ground, is illustrated by 1 Kings xx. 23, where an idea exactly similar is put into expression by the Syrians. The servants of the king of Syria are discussing with him the cause of their defeat at the hands of Ahab and Israel, whose territory they have invaded. Their conclusion is, 'Their gods are gods of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they.' That is to say, if the Syrians can succeed in enticing these (supposed) hill-gods out of their fastnesses into the level country in which they will be less at home, they may then hope to conquer them and their worshippers. In

[1] The passage is to some extent illustrated by the inscription of this same king Mesha', preserved upon the Moabite Stone. Here Mesha' traces his subjection to Israel under Omri to the fact that 'Chemosh was angry with his land,' and narrates how the renewed favour of the god enabled him to cast off the yoke. The inscription may be found in Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. lxxxv. ff., or in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, *s.v.* Moab; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, *s.v.* Moab; *cf.* Sanday, *Inspiration*, pp. 135 ff.

the same way the Assyrian king Sennacherib describes himself as having conquered not merely nations, but the gods of the nations, who were powerless to deliver their peoples out of his hand (2 Kings xviii. 32-35).

**Importance of the Title Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth in this Connection.**—At this point we may more fully appreciate the meaning, in early times, of the title *Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth*, to which allusion was made in the preceding chapter. Yahwe was regarded as God of the *hosts* or *armies* of Israel, who would march forth from His land—His heritage or dwelling-place—at the head of His forces, in order to make war with other nations and their gods; or who would be ready to aid His people against the aggressions which outsiders might make upon His territory. For illustration two passages will suffice. In the old song of Deborah (Judges v. 23), the inhabitants of Meroz are cursed, not because they failed to come to the help of *their brethren* against the Canaanites, but

> 'Because they came not to the help of Yahwe,
> To the help of Yahwe against the mighty.'

Again, in the time of Eli, when the Israelites have suffered defeat at the hands of the Philistines, it is decided that Yahwe must be offended, and so have allowed His people to be smitten. Thus, to ensure His presence and assistance at the next engagement, the Ark, the outward symbol of His presence, is carried on to the battlefield in the midst of the host (1 Sam. iv.).[1]

**Sacred Places, as the Scenes of Theophanies.**—Having thus collected and reviewed passages which illustrate the limited conception of Yahwe's sphere as the national God of Israel, we may proceed to notice the manner in which particular localities within the land of Israel were regarded as peculiarly sacred to Yahwe as the seats of His habitation. The reason for such a distinction was that they were the scenes of *Theophanies*; the supposition being that where Yahwe had once manifested His presence, He would be likely to do so again, and that, by His appearance once granted, He had marked out

[1] Probably the name Israel originally meant '*May God persist*' (*i.e. exert Himself*) sc. for His people. *Cf.* Ishma'el '*May God hear*' so. the bearer of the name.

the particular locality as a place where sacrifice and worship would be peculiarly acceptable to Him.

The old law of (E), the 'Book of the Covenant,' with regard to setting up an altar to Yahwe, runs thus: 'An altar of earth thou shalt make unto Me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen: in every place where I record My name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee' (Ex. xx. 24). Here the expression *where I record My name* means that the site of the altar is to be a sacred place, *i.e.* the scene of a Theophany.

Accordingly, we find that in the old narratives of J and E, traditions of Theophanies in patriarchal times circle round the sacred places of Palestine. We need only cite the names of Mamre in Hebron (Gen. xiii. 18 J, xviii. 1 ff. J), Beer-lahai-roi (Gen. xvi. 7 ff. J), Moriah (Gen. xxii. JE), Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 10 ff. JE, xxxv. 1 ff. E), and Penuel (Gen. xxxii. 22 ff. J). But if the scenes of Yahwe's Theophanies were thus thought to fall within the land of promise as His proper dwelling-place, how, it may be asked, was it explained that the patriarchs, when they left Canaan and went down into Egypt, could still be under Yahwe's supervision? This difficulty is specially met in the sacred narrative. Yahwe promises to undertake the journey with His worshippers. He will also go down into Egypt and sojourn there, though this strange land was no more regarded as His true abode than it was that of the patriarchs. The narrative of E says, 'God spake unto Israel in the visions of the night, and said Jacob, Jacob. And he said, Here am I. And He said, I am God, the God of thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will make of thee a great nation: I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again' (Gen. xlvi. 2-4).

We will not here discuss the reason for the Theophany to Moses at Horeb or Sinai, outside the land of Canaan. Probably this mountain was a primitive seat of the worship of Yahwe among the Hebrews. At present it need only be noticed that it is to the scene of the Theophany—the sacred place—that the whole body of the tribes of Israel must journey if they are to offer

sacrifice to their God. 'Yahwe, the God of the Hebrews, hath met with us: and now let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to Yahwe our God' (Ex. iii. 18 J, v. 3 J, viii. 27 J, x. 25-26 E).

After the Exodus from Egypt, Yahwe is pictured as journeying before His people, leading them through the wilderness, His presence being indicated by the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night (Ex. xiii. 21, 22 J). It is this cloudy pillar which descends upon Mount Sinai (Ex. xix. 11, 16 ff. E), which hangs above the door of the tent which is Yahwe's temporary habitation during the wandering of the tribes (Ex. xxxiii. 9 ff. E), and which, by its rest or movement, regulates the stages of Israel's journey (Ex. xl. 34 ff. P; Num. ix. 15 ff. P).

In the period which follows the conquest of Canaan, and onward into the age of the monarchy, we find the system of sacred places for the worship of Yahwe forming an integral portion of Israel's religion. There was a sanctuary at Shiloh in the time of the Judges, of higher importance than other sanctuaries as being the receptacle of the Ark, just as later on there was the Temple at Jerusalem, pre-eminently marked out as serving the same purpose. But the fact of the existence of a central sanctuary did not hinder the prosperous survival of other sacred places, where altars to Yahwe were erected, and sacrifice was offered. Thus, to take a few instances from among many, Samuel offers sacrifice at the *Bāmā* or high-place at Ramah (1 Sam. vii. 17, ix. 12, 13), Solomon at the great high-place at Gibeon (1 Kings iii. 4), Elijah at Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 30 ff.). Bethel, one of the sites chosen by Jeroboam for the institution of his calf-worship, was, as we have observed, an old sacred place, and the same was no doubt the case with the sanctuary at Dan (1 Kings xii. 28 ff.). The complaint of Elijah at Horeb, 'The children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant, thrown down Thine altars, and slain Thy prophets with the sword' (1 Kings xix. 10), shows incidentally how widespread and numerous these sacred places must have been, at any rate throughout the Northern Kingdom.

**Characteristics of the Bāmōth or Local Sanctuaries.**—We will now notice briefly some of the characteristics of these ancient local sanctuaries for the worship of Yahwe.

**Natural Characteristics.**—Firstly, they were, no doubt, frequently associated with special natural phenomena. Certain sites were chosen for sanctuaries because they presented certain physical features which appear from time immemorial to have been connected by the Semites with the special presence of Deity.

Of such features the most noticeable is the *mountain* or *hilly elevation in the ground.* The scene of the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Ba'al was upon Mount Carmel, and the altar built up by Yahwe's prophet was no new one, but an old altar which had been thrown down by the persecuting energy of Jezebel. In the same way, the very term *Bāmā*, which is used, *e.g.*, of the sanctuaries at Ramah and at Gibeon, denotes a *high place* or *hill top. Springs of living water* issuing from the ground also appear to have frequently marked the scene of a sacred place. Such were Beer-sheba' and Beer-lahai-roi (*Be'ĕr* = well). Again, it appears that *trees,* probably in most cases of some antiquity and adapted by their size and shape to act as prominent landmarks, very frequently occurred in such a connection. We recall the oaks or terebinths of Mamre, where Abraham received the Divine visitant, and where he erected an altar to Yahwe (Gen. xiii. 18 J, xiv. 13, xviii. 1 J), the tree of the same species at Shechem, definitely stated to have been 'by the sanctuary of Yahwe' (Josh. xxiv. 26 E; *cf.* Gen. xxxv. 4 E; Judges ix. 6), and at 'Ophrah, where the angel of Yahwe appeared to Gideon (Judges vi. 11 ff.), and, again, the tamarisk planted by Abraham at Beer-sheba', when he invoked the name of Yahwe, the everlasting God. Perhaps we should add the thorn bush at Mount Horeb, in which Yahwe's Theophany to Moses took the form of a flame of fire (Ex. iii. 2 JE).

**Furniture.**—Secondly, these sacred spots had special furniture, generally, it may be supposed, simple and primitive in character.

Of this probably the one inseparable feature was the

*altar*. This, as we have noticed, was of earth, or else of stones in their natural condition, not hewn, sawn, or cut in any way (Ex. xx. 24, 25 J; *cf.* 1 Kings xviii. 30, 31). In certain cases a single great stone might serve the purpose of an altar (1 Sam. xiv. 33-35). The altar, however, did not always stand alone at the high-places of Yahwe. In many cases, if not indeed generally, it must have been accompanied by the *Maṣṣēbhā* or *pillar*. This pillar, or rough stone set on end in the ground, was used as a symbol of the dwelling-place of the Deity, or, in primitive times, was regarded as actually His dwelling-place.

Quite certainly the sacred stone was innocently employed in Yahwe's worship, and was not regarded as a deflection towards idolatry—the making of a graven image. Jacob is said to have set up a *Maṣṣēbhā* at Bethel to mark the scene of Yahwe's Theophany, calling the stone the house of God, and anointing it with oil (Gen. xxviii. 17, 18, 20-22 E). Jacob and Laban, when they make a covenant at Mizpah, raise a pillar to symbolise that Yahwe is party to the covenant, and will exact judgment upon the breaker of it (Gen. xxxi. 52, 53 E). Again, the narrative of JE states that, at the ratification of the 'Book of the Covenant,' Moses, besides building an altar, set up twelve pillars according to the number of the tribes of Israel; the meaning being that Yahwe enters into covenant with each of the tribes (Ex. xxiv. 4). And, once more, in Isaiah's prophecy upon Egypt, the prophet, in predicting that a remnant of Egypt shall share in the blessings of the Messianic age, says that 'In that day there shall be an altar to Yahwe in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to Yahwe' (Isa. xix. 19, 20). The pillar symbolises that the land belongs to Yahwe, is marked out as His dwelling-place.

So much may be said with regard to the ordinary furniture of Yahwe's high-places. It is often assumed that there was generally present also the *Ashērā*, a wooden pole or tree-trunk set upright in the ground, and supposed to represent the sacred tree of the Semites, like the sacred stone a symbol of the presence of the Deity. It is, however, by no means certain that the *Ashērā* had such a significance. Quite possibly it was a symbol of the

reproductive powers of nature, belonging to the impure worship of the Canaanites.[1] If its significance was such as this, clearly it could never have held a place in the uncorrupted monolatry of Israel; and, accordingly, we never find it spoken of, like the *Maṣṣēbhā*, as an innocent symbol employed in Yahwe's worship. When mentioned, it is always mentioned for reprobation.[2]

In the same way the view that the *calf-worship* of the Northern Kingdom represents an innocent stage in the development of the religion of Yahwe, and is only regarded as a deflection from the point of view of a later age, appears upon examination to be without foundation. It cannot be proved that at any stage of the post-Mosaic religion the use of images to represent Yahwe was anything else than a corrupt practice.

It has been attempted to make capital out of the fact that Elijah in the time of Ahab poses as an opponent, not of the calf-worship, but of the worship of the Tyrian Ba'al-Melḳart introduced by Jezebel. But, in the first place, the fact that Elijah set himself to meet the pressing need of the situation, the rooting out from Israel of a definitely extraneous cult, in no way shows that he approved or even condoned the worship of Yahwe under the symbol of a calf. And, indeed, there are some indications that his ideal and that of his party was not identified with such a form of religion.

The account (1 Kings xviii. 30-32) of the prophet's building up the altar to Yahwe on Carmel *may* have undergone expansion by later hands; but, as it stands, the mention of the 'twelve stones according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob' clearly indicates that he had in view as an ideal the ultimate union of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the pure worship of Yahwe. The mention (*vv.* 29, 36) 'of the time of the offering of the evening oblation' is certainly part of the

[1] Such an inference is perhaps warranted by the reference, in 1 Kings xv. 13, to the *abominable image for an Ashērā* which was made by the mother of Asa king of Judah. Here the expression is interpreted by the Vulgate, *simulacrum Priapi*.

[2] On *Maṣṣēbhā* and *Ashērā*, cf. Driver on Deuteronomy (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), pp. 201 ff.

original narrative, and is most naturally explained as a reference to the morning and evening offering *at the Temple at Jerusalem*, where Yahwe's worship was certainly conducted without the aid of any image or symbol.

But the evidence of this particular narrative need not be pressed when we possess the striking witness of chap. xxii. of 1 Kings. This passage clearly points the inference that there were *two forms of Yahwe-worship* existent in the Northern Kingdom; that represented by the cult of the calves, and that of which Micaiah, like Elijah and Elisha, was the exponent; and that the view that the former was a perversion of the true religion was not merely the opinion of later (Deuteronomic) times, but was shared by the *contemporary* adherents of the purer form of religion.

The four hundred prophets who prophesy before Ahab are clearly *prophets of Yahwe*, uttering their oracle in His name, 'Thus saith Yahwe' (*v.* 11), and, 'Go up to Ramoth-Gilead and prosper; for Yahwe shall deliver it into the hand of the king' (*vv.* 6, 12). Yet as clearly they belong to a different class from Micaiah the son of Imlah. They cannot be thought to have belonged to the class which Jezebel used vigorous measures to extirpate (1 Kings xviii. 4, xix. 10-14; 2 Kings ix. 7), but must have been representatives of a form of Yahwe-religion which for some reason escaped attack during her persecution; and the reason for this escape may be assumed to have been that this professed Yahwe-worship could tolerate the existence side by side with it of a definitely extraneous cult, even if it had not itself assimilated certain Canaanite elements.

On the other hand, the reason for Jezebel's vindictiveness against a certain section of Yahwe-worshippers must have been that these, by emphasis of *Yahwe's exclusive claim* (Ex. xx. 3 E), came into sharp collision with the form of religion which she desired to naturalise. Such were those mentioned in 1 Kings xix. 18, not merely an isolated prophet here and there, but a considerable body of the people, whose number is reckoned as seven thousand.

If, then, it be true that the calf-cultus did not form part of the uncorrupted worship of Yahwe, the chief

support of the view that the use of images belonged to the Mosaic religion is removed. There remains, in fact, only the difficult question as to significance of the term *Ēphōd*, as it occurs in certain passages of the historical books.[1]

The *Ēphōd*, as mentioned in P, is a priestly garment, and the same is true of the *Ēphōd of linen* to which reference is made in 1 Sam. ii. 18, xxii. 18; 2 Sam. vi. 14. But the *Ēphōd* made by Gideon from the golden ornaments taken from the Midianites, after which 'all Israel went a whoring,' and which 'became a snare unto Gideon, and to his house' (Judges viii. 27), and the *Ēphōd* set up by the Ephraimite Micah at his sanctuary, and afterwards seized by the Danites (Judges xvii. 18), appear to have been some kind of image. The same inference is perhaps to be drawn from Hos. iii. 4, where it said that 'the children of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without prince, without sacrifice, and without pillar, and without ephod and teraphim.' And, again, in Isa. xxx. 22, a word *ăphudda*, closely akin to *Ēphōd*, is used of the metal *sheathing* or *plating* of an idol. Hence the question has been raised, whether the term *Ēphōd* does not denote an *oracular image*, when it is mentioned in 1 Sam. as 'borne' by the priest (ii. 28, xiv. 3, 18), kept at the sanctuary of Nob (xxi. 10), carried away by Abiathar when he escaped from the slaughter of the priests, and used by him in consulting the oracle of Yahwe on David's behalf (xxiii. 6 ff., xxx. 7), as it had formerly been employed by Ahijah for the guidance of Saul.[2]

Evidence is, however, inconclusive as to the meaning of the term. The verdict of Prof. Moore is that 'in all

[1] *Terāphīm*, coupled with *Ēphōd* in Judges xvii. 5, xviii. 14; Hos. iii. 4, may be dismissed, as having nothing to do with Yahwe-worship. In the oracle of Samuel they form a parallel to *the sin of witchcraft*, as something displeasing to Yahwe (1 Sam. xv. 23). Probably they were of the nature of *household gods*, kept to bring good luck. Rachel (Gen. xxxi. 19, 34 E) and Michal (1 Sam. xix. 13 ff.) possess them, perhaps to secure success in child-bearing (*cf.* Gen. xxx. 1, 24 J E; 2 Sam. vi. 23).

[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 18, where the Septuagint is correct in reading *Ēphōd* in place of *Ark of Yahwe*.

these passages the *Ēphōd* may be an idol; but it must be admitted that, with the exception of Judges viii. 27, none of them imperatively requires this interpretation. All that can with certainty be gathered from them is that it was a portable object which was employed or manipulated by the priest in consulting the oracle.'[1]

**Summary of the Characteristics of Yahwe's Local Sanctuaries.**—We may now sum up that which we have gathered with regard to Yahwe's local sanctuaries in early times.

They were usually upon some mountain or hill-top, or beside a spring, and in many cases were overshadowed by a tree. Their usual furniture was an altar of earth or unhewn stone, standing in the open air, and generally, though perhaps not always, a rough stone pillar as symbol of the Divine Presence. In the few cases in which sanctuaries were walled in and roofed, as at Shiloh and Nob, it is probable that the furniture was more elaborate; but evidence is not sufficient to show that anything in the form of a graven image was employed, except by deflection from the pure religion of Yahwe, as in the calf-worship of the Northern Kingdom.

**Danger of Confusion between Yahwe-worship and the Worship of the Canaanites.**—Now from what has gone before, it will be abundantly evident that for the unspiritual Israelites there was great danger of a confusion arising between their own form of worship and that of the Canaanites.

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Yahwe, like the local deities of the Canaanites, could be described by the title *Ba'al*. Both forms of religion had sanctuaries in the same kind of locality, and with altar and pillar. In the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex. xxiii. 24), and in the short code of J (Ex. xxxiv. 13), there are special injunctions for the destruction of the Canaanite high-places, with their altars, idols, pillars, and *Ashērīm*. Yet deflection from the pure religion seems to have frequently occurred. Yahwe was identified with the

[1] Judges (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), p. 379. *Cf.* also article *Ephod* in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*.

local Canaanite *Ba'al*. *Ashērīm* were set up by his altars, and images were fashioned. In extreme cases the consecrated prostitutes and the immoral rites of the nature-worship of Canaan were adopted by Israel (1 Kings xiv. 24, xv. 12, xxii. 46; Hos. iv. 13, 14).

**The Danger met by a Centralisation of Cultus.**—To meet this danger the Book of Deuteronomy aimed at nothing less than a complete centralisation of cultus in the Temple at Jerusalem. All local sanctuaries, whether for the worship of Yahwe or for that of the Canaanite Ba'al, were to be cleared away, and sacrifice was to be permissible only at the central sanctuary (*cf.* especially Deut. xii. 2 ff.).

Naturally such a sweeping alteration in the national worship carried with it other important changes. It appears to be probable, if not certain, that in old times every slaughter of a domestic animal was regarded as a sacrificial act. Flesh was not eaten as an every-day food, but only upon festal occasions; and then the beast to be slain was taken up to the local sanctuary and the blood was offered to Yahwe (*cf.* 1 Sam. ix. 12 ff., xx. 29). Even in such a case as that recorded in 1 Sam. xiv. 32 ff., where the Israelites, after a defeat of the Philistines, fly upon the spoil and slay sheep and oxen to satisfy their hunger, Saul causes a rough altar to be erected, and every man brings his beast and offers its blood upon the altar. But with the centralisation of cultus such a sacrificial offering of the blood upon the altar becomes impossible, and so it is enjoined (Deut. xii. 13-15, 21-24) that when a beast is slain for food the blood is simply to be poured out upon the earth like water.

Again, the abolition of the local sanctuaries was calculated to deprive a large number of the Levitical priesthood of its sources of livelihood; and thus we find that constantly throughout Deuteronomy the Levite is classed with the protected stranger, the widow, and the orphan, and specially commended to the charity of Israel (Deut. xii. 19; xiv. 29; xvi. 11, 14; xviii. 6; xxvi. 11).[1]

[1] In later times P makes provision for the Levites by assigning to them forty-eight cities with their suburbs (Num. xxxv. 1-8;

2 Kings xxii. narrates the way in which these reforms were carried out by Josiah, after the finding of the Book of Deuteronomy in the eighteenth year of his reign (B.C. 621).

It is noticeable how the compiler of Kings, who must have lived shortly after this reformation, is influenced by the Deuteronomic standpoint. According to this writer, the sin of Jeroboam in setting up the calves at Bethel and Dan consisted not only in the fact that he introduced images into the worship of Yahwe, but also, and chiefly, in that by the establishment of these sanctuaries he aimed a blow at the worship at the central sanctuary at Jerusalem (1 Kings xii. 26 ff.). The fact that certain kings of Judah 'did that which was right in the eyes of Yahwe' is discounted by the statement that 'the high-places were not removed' (1 Kings xxii. 43; 2 Kings xii. 4, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35).

In fact, from the Deuteronomic point of view, Yahwe is no longer to be found at any local sanctuary throughout His land, but only at the one. It is in the Temple at Jerusalem that He has set His name. There He is to be sought.

If such a centralisation of worship deprived the everyday life of the Israelite who lived far from Jerusalem of much of its religious significance, yet, on the other hand, it removed once and for all the danger of Yahwe's confusion with the Canaanite Ba'al, thus preparing the way for a far more highly spiritualised conception of His Being; and, as we shall see later, the movement was nearly coincident with the setting forth of a doctrine of full monotheism upon the part of the writing prophets.

**Effect of the Exile upon the Conception of Yahwe's Dwelling-place.**—The destruction of the Temple and the Exile of the Judæans happened within thirty-five years of Josiah's reformation, and paved the way for a wider conception of Yahwe's dwelling-place.

If Yahwe, the God of the whole earth, possessed no

Josh. xxi.). This code also draws a distinction between the *sons of Aaron*, to whom the proper priestly duties are restricted, and the *ordinary Levites*, who can only exercise subordinate functions. In Deuteronomy the terms *priest* and *Levite* are synonymous.

earthly Temple, inasmuch as the House which Solomon had built to His Name at Jerusalem was lying in ruins, the inference was clear for spiritual minds that He was too great, too all-pervading, to need such a form of dwelling-place. Thus we find a prophet of the Exile using the words: 'Thus saith Yahwe, The heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool: what manner of house will ye build unto Me? and what place shall be My rest? For all these things hath My hand made, and so all these things came to be, saith Yahwe' (2 Isa. lxvi. 1-2). Perhaps the fullest and grandest statement of this doctrine of Yahwe's omnipresence is to be found in the late Ps. cxxxix. 7-10:—

> 'Whither shall I go from Thy spirit?
> Or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?
> If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there,
> If I make my bed in Shĕ'ōl, behold, Thou art there.
> If I take the wings of the morning,
> And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;
> Even there shall Thy hand lead me,
> And Thy right hand shall hold me.'

It is to be noticed, however, that we find it strongly asserted by Ezekiel that Yahwe will dignify the newly-constructed Temple with His special presence. 'The name of the city from that day shall be, Yahwe is there' (Ezek. xlviii. 35). The same idea emerges distinctively in H and P: 'I will set my tabernacle in the midst of you . . . and I will walk in the midst of you' (Lev. xxvi. 11, 12 H; *cf.* Ex. xxv. 8, xxix. 45; Num. v. 3; xxxv. 34, all P; Ezek. xliii. 9).

Doubtless such a localised dwelling of Yahwe among His people was conceived in a higher and more spiritual sense than in pre-exilic times. Yet, notwithstanding, it could never in Old Testament times be strictly correlated with the conception of His omnipresence. Such a correlation was reserved to be realised under the New Covenant, under which the Church of Christ is sustained by the special Presence in her of the Incarnate God, the same whose Being fills heaven and earth.

# CHAPTER III

## THE COVENANT-RELATION BETWEEN THE GOD OF ISRAEL AND HIS PEOPLE.—THE OUTWARD CONDITIONS OF ITS MAINTENANCE

Throughout the Old Testament the relationship which exists between Yahwe and Israel is represented under the form of a *covenant*. The antiquity of this idea is shown by the fact that it is not peculiar to any single code or prophetic writer, but is common property. It is found in JE, D, H, and P, in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. If, with the exception of Hosea (vi. 7, viii. 1), the earliest of the writing prophets cannot be cited as employing the *term*, yet the ethical relationship which they assume as existent between Yahwe and Israel certainly presupposes the idea.

The nature of a covenant may be briefly stated as follows.

It is a solemn agreement made between two parties who stand previously unrelated ; in which certain mutual obligations are undertaken, for the sake of certain benefits, generally mutual, which are to ensue from the connection.

**Root-meaning of the Hebrew Term Bĕrîth.**—The root-meaning of the Hebrew word for covenant, *bĕrîth*, is not quite certain. By some it is supposed to contain the idea of *cutting*, and to refer to the division of the sacrificial victims which appears generally to have belonged to the ceremony of ratification (Gen. xv. 9, 10 JE ; Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19). Now it is true that the verb which is commonly used of *making* (*kārath*) a covenant means simply *to cut*, and seems to have reference to

this rite. But probably the idea of the covenant is even older than this ancient ceremony, and *bĕrîth* is to be traced back to an Assyrian root *barû* which means *to bind*, whence is derived *birîtu, a fetter*. Thus the ground-meaning of *bĕrîth* is that of a *bond* or *obligation*.

**Instances of Covenants between Man and Man.**—It is instructive to notice two ancient accounts of covenants formed *between man and man*.

The first, which belongs to the narrative of J, is found in Gen. xxvi. 26 ff.

Abimelech, king of Gerar in the Philistine country, proposes to Isaac that a covenant shall be established between them, the condition to be imposed being abstinence from mutual aggressions, in order that either party may reap the advantages of such an immunity. Isaac makes a feast for the Philistine and his companions; next morning they arise betimes, and swear to one another, the covenant being thus concluded. A duplicate account of this transaction, where the parties concerned are Abimelech and *Abraham*, exists in E (Gen. xxi. 22 ff.).

The other covenant which we will notice is that which is formed between Jacob the Hebrew and Laban the Aramæan, Gen. xxxi. 44 ff. Here J and E are much involved, and it is difficult accurately to analyse the sources.

Laban suggests that a covenant shall be established, as a witness between him and Jacob, so that neither party may overstep the boundary of the place at which they stand, with hostile intentions. A heap of stones is raised to mark the spot, and a pillar is erected to indicate that Yahwe witnesses the covenant. Then a solemn oath is sworn, the God of either party being invoked to exact judgment should the contract be violated. Jacob offers sacrifice, and calls his brethren to eat bread. Next morning Laban departs in security.

In these two instances we notice the following common points:

1. Certain advantages are secured for either party upon certain voluntarily accepted terms. In both cases we have, in fact, a primitive international treaty; in the

one case between the Hebrews and the Philistines, in the other between the Hebrews and the Aramæans.

2. The covenant is ratified by the swearing of a solemn oath, the violation of which is regarded as meriting the dreadful wrath of the Deity who is witness to the making of the covenant. The word rendered 'oath' in xxvi. 28 may also be rendered 'curse'; *i.e.* it takes the form of a curse if its provisions be infringed. That in such an oath it was usual to invoke the name of the Deity appears from the expression 'oath of Yahwe' which is elsewhere found (Ex. xxii. 11 J; 2 Sam. xxi. 7; 1 Kings ii. 43; *cf.* 1 Sam. xx. 42).

3. There is mention of a feast in connection with the covenant, the common meal being a mark of amity or brotherhood. Gen. xxxi. 54, in speaking of sacrifice, makes it clear that the meal in this case was sacrificial; and the same is also, no doubt, true of xxvi. 30. The special significance of this sacrificial meal will presently be noticed.

**The Covenant between Yahwe and Israel.**—In the same way, Yahwe is pictured as entering into covenant with Israel in the person of their ancestors, and it is upon this covenant that the relationship between Yahwe and Israel is based.

Thus JE in Gen. xv. depicts the formation of such a covenant with Abraham in vivid colours. Abraham by Yahwe's direction takes certain beasts and birds, and divides the beasts into halves, setting the one half over against the other. Then at nightfall Yahwe, in the form of a smoking furnace and a flaming torch, passes between the pieces, and promises that He will give to Abraham's seed the land in which he sojourns, from the river of Egypt unto the Euphrates. Again, in JE Gen. xxii., after the trial of Abraham's faith Yahwe swears a solemn oath, invoking His own name, that He will surely bless Abraham and multiply his seed, on account of his crowning act of obedience (*vv.* 16-18 J). This same covenant-promise is reiterated to Isaac, the basis upon which it rests on the human side being again stated;—'because that Abraham obeyed My voice, and kept My charge, My commandments, My statutes, and

My laws' (Gen. xxvi. 2-5 J). And, once more, Jacob also is brought into the covenant at the Bethel-vision (Gen. xxviii. 10-22 JE). Yahwe's promise (*vv.* 13-14), in substance identical with that made to Abraham and Isaac, belongs to J ; Jacob's undertaking—his vow which he vows on his part (*vv.* 20-22) is mainly the narrative of E, but shows the hand of the redactor JE in *v.* 21. The terms which he uses are worthy of notice: 'If God will be with me, and will keep me in the way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall Yahwe be my God, and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house: and of all that Thou shalt give me I will surely give a tenth unto Thee.'

The narrative of P traces the covenant-relationship back to an earlier time than that of the founder of the race. It is with Noah and with his seed after him that God establishes a covenant which binds Him never again to destroy all flesh by the waters of a flood. Of this covenant the rainbow is to be a token (Gen. ix. 8-17). The institution of the covenant with Abraham is related by P at some length (Gen. xvii.), and it is to this covenant that the initiatory rite of circumcision is traced. Abraham, aged ninety-nine years, and his son Ishmael, at the age of thirteen years, are circumcised upon the same day, together with all the men of the patriarch's retinue. Then when, later on, Isaac, the child of promise, is born, it is recorded that he is brought within the covenant by circumcision on the eighth day (Gen. xxi. 4).

It is to be noticed also that P, like JE, gives an account of God's covenant-promise to Jacob at Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 9 ff).

Upon the covenant formed between Yahwe and Israel at Horeb it is unnecessary here to enlarge. The mention of it is found first in JE (Ex. xix. 5; xxiv. 7, 8; xxxiv. 10, 27), but it comes into special prominence through the emphasis laid upon it in Deuteronomy. The words of v. 2—'Yahwe our God made a covenant with us in Horeb'—strike the keynote of this book. This covenant is regarded as based upon the Ten Commandments. The tables

upon which these are written are 'the tables of the covenant,' the ark which contains them is 'the ark of the covenant,' a mainly Deuteronomic expression.

These passages serve to illustrate how strong and deep-seated was the conviction that the relationship existing between the God of Israel and His people was based upon a covenant, analogous to that which is formed between man and man, and having its root in patriarchal times.

We need not lay stress upon the fact that in the Divine covenant the benefit which accrues is all upon one side, since Yahwe cannot strictly be thought to be a gainer by the transaction, but acts simply out of favour to His chosen people. What is important is that He consents to enter into the relationship of imposing and accepting certain conditions, after the manner of a human covenant.

Having thus noticed that this covenant-relationship between Yahwe and Israel was assumed to have been entered upon from the days of the founder of the race, we have now to examine the means whereby each individual member of the race is brought within the national covenant, and also the method by which the relationship, once established, is maintained in full vigour.

The outward means of initiation is found in *the rite of circumcision:* the outward means of maintenance in *the rite of sacrifice.*

Circumcision.—In speaking of circumcision, we have first to observe that the custom was by no means peculiar to Israel. The fact that in P the institution of the rite is traced back to Abraham implies that it was practised among the Arabians, the descendants of Ishmael, and by Edom, Israel's brother. A passage in Jeremiah (ix. 25, 26) appears to class Egypt, Edom, Moab, and Ammon with Judah, as practising circumcision. Ezekiel speaks of the Egyptians (xxxii. 19, 21) and the Edomites (xxxii. 29) as suffering disgrace through lying in death among the uncircumcised, and seems to imply the same of the Phœnicians of Tyre (xxviii. 10). Origen states that the Egyptians, Arabians, Ethiopians, and Phœnicians practised the custom. That in Egypt the rite was at

least as early as the fourteenth century B.C. is proved by the existence upon the walls of a temple at Karnak of a representation of the circumcising of two children. The practice has been found among some of the Bantu tribes of Africa, and among American, Australian, and South Sea Island aborigines.

It is generally agreed that circumcision, as thus widely practised, has a religious significance. It is a custom which marks the assumption of full tribal rights, and as such it appears to be a bloody sacrifice to the tribal deity.

This sacrifice is representative; it is the offering of one part as a redemption of the whole man. The special part selected implies that the sacrifice is an offering of the seat of life; an idea which corresponds with the religious mystery which surrounds the perpetuation of life among early races.

Hebrew circumcision is characterised by the fact that it is performed in infancy. The child at eight days old becomes a participator in the Divine covenant. The rite is said to have been practised by Israel in Egypt, but discontinued in the wilderness, until at the entry into Canaan the reproach was removed by Joshua at Gilgal (Josh. v. 2-8, JE revised by $D^2$).

Sacrifice.—The fact, however, that the covenant between Yahwe and Israel had been established in old times, and that every individual member of the race was brought within its pale in infancy by means of circumcision, was not a sufficient guarantee for the full and vigorous maintenance of the relationship. Israel as a nation was liable to the weakness and ignorance which besets humanity. They lived in constant danger of committing themselves, either as a body or in the person of individuals, to some course of action in the details of life which, while not implying an apostasy from Yahwe, or a wilful breaking of His covenant, was yet calculated to infringe the enactments of the covenant and to weaken the bond. To meet such a contingency, and to maintain the covenant-relationship in its full vigour, we find all through Israel's history the common practice of the *rite of sacrifice.*

In speaking of sacrifice, we have first to define the meaning of the term, then to examine into the significance of the rite, and to gather, as far as may be, its ground-meaning, before advancing to the consideration of its later more highly developed forms in the religion of Israel.

**Meaning of the Term.**—Sacrifice is a material oblation offered on the altar by which the nation as a whole, or an individual member of it, is brought into personal relationship with the Deity. Israel meets with Yahwe at any one of His sacred places, and there, by means of an offering, is brought into personal contact with Him, and renews and strengthens the covenant-bond.

Sacrifice may be said to fall into two divisions; the offering of *animal life* or of *vegetable produce*.

These two kinds of offering are again susceptible of another method of division: *offerings which the Deity and the offerer share as in a common meal; and offerings which are wholly made over to the Deity after the manner of a gift.*

**Earliest Significance of the Rite.**—Inquiry into the origin of sacrifice takes us back to the foundations of human society.

It appears to be an universal rule that the most primitive factor in society is *the bond of kinship*. The earliest social organism is the clan or tribe, and members of a tribe are bound together by the ties of kin, *i.e.* by the fact that the same blood flows in their veins. Such a tie exists for defensive and offensive purposes in the struggle for existence. Members of another tribe who do not share in the blood-relationship are *ipso facto* regarded as hostile. On the other hand, the bond of a common strain of blood makes each member of a tribe regard himself as part of a veritable organic unity. Any injury which may be inflicted upon any single member of his tribe, he, like all other members, is bound to regard as his own quarrel, and to see therefore that vengeance is exacted. And, moreover, because the same kind of unity exists in the case of hostile tribes, it is no

matter whether vengeance be taken upon the actual perpetrator of the injury. It may fall with equal force upon any member of his clan, since all members are of one blood with him, and all are concerned in defending his act of aggression. This is the explanation of the blood-feud between clan and clan in a primitive state of society.

It is natural, then, that the only known form of bond which holds together the members of a tribe should be conceived as forming the connecting link between the tribe and the deity whom it worships: *the god and his worshippers are thought to be of one kin.* It is because of this tie of blood that he is willing to regard his worshippers with favour, and to assist them in their struggles with their foes, to whom he stands in no such relationship.[1]

**Kinship between the God and his Worshippers cemented by a Common Meal.**—The origin of sacrifice is almost certainly to be traced to this primitive conception of kinship between god and man. The earliest form of sacrifice consists in the slaughter of an animal, followed by a meal, and the performance of certain religious rites. The purpose of this slaughter is a sacramental act. The animal is slain in order that its flesh may be shared and eaten by the whole clan, while the blood, as the seat of life, and therefore sacred, is generally devoted to the deity. This latter rite was carried out among the Semites by pouring out the blood upon the altar, or dashing it against it, or else by smearing it upon the sacred stone, which, as we have seen (p. 41), represented the abode of the god.

Thus the clansmen and their tribal god are drawn more closely together by sharing in a common meal; the deity consents to preside at the feast, and, by so doing, admits his readiness to undertake the obligations which are involved in the fact of kinship. That this sharing in a common meal was further regarded as the sharing in *a common life*, typified by the newly-killed flesh and

[1] We may trace the survival of this conception among the Israelites in proper names which describe their bearers as standing in kin-connection with Yahwe. See p. 32.

warm blood of the victim, is an attractive and plausible theory, but cannot be regarded as proved with any certainty.[1]

We have noticed that the part of the sacrifice usually apportioned to the deity was the blood. This, as we have remarked, was on account of its inherent sacredness, as that in which the life of the victim was thought to reside. Another reason which probably operated was that blood is absorbed by the earth and disappears, and thus can more easily be supposed to be consumed by the deity than a mass of solid matter. When certain solid portions, such as the fat, were appropriated to the god, the difficulty as to their disposal was obvious, and it appears that at an early stage fire was introduced in order to etherealise the food and render it fit for consumption by the deity.

**The Gift-offering—a later Development.**—The sacrifice of more than one victim at a time upon great occasions appears to have led to the custom of making over to the god one or more entire animals to be wholly consumed by fire on his altar. Such whole burnt-sacrifices then came to be used separately at special times when it was felt that a special act of dedication was needed. Divorced from the sacrificial meal, they lost their sacramental character, and so began to be regarded as *a costly gift* offered in order to ingratiate the god. And since the *most* costly gift that could be offered was a human life, especially the life of a man's own son, his first-born, we find a widespread diffusion of the practice of *human sacrifice*. That such human sacrifices were not outside the ken of the Hebrews in early times appears from the history of Abraham's projected sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. xxii. JE), and Jephthah's sacrifice of his only daughter (Judges xi. 34 ff.).

The standpoints implied in the two forms of sacrifice —the sacrificial meal and the gift-sacrifice—differ in this respect.

The former dates back to a period when the relation-

[1] *Cf.* Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Lecture ix. and *passim*.

ship between the deity and his worshippers was thought to be tolerably easy-going and familiar. The god might become offended with his worshippers, but such a feeling of offence was not very deep-seated, and could easily be removed by the expedient of a renewal of the covenant-bond through a common meal. On the whole, he was easily propitiated, and preferred to live on terms of good-fellowship with the tribe who paid him homage.

The burnt-offering belongs to a later time when this feeling of easy relations with the deity has to a great extent been superseded by an anxious fear. The god is now pictured rather as *king* than as *relative* of his worshippers; an idea which corresponds with the later social development in which a number of tribes are bound together, not by the tie of kin, but by association for mutual advantage under a common chieftain. At this stage the gap which divides the god from his worshippers is greatly widened. He may, it is felt, become so seriously displeased that a costly gift is needed in order to sue for reinstatement in his favour, the most costly that can be obtained as a symbol of uttermost surrender and dedication on the part of the offerer. Thus the idea of a *piaculum* or atoning offering is seen to be prominent in this latter form of sacrifice.

**The Sacrifices of Israel.**—In P we find a general term which is applied to sacrifice as a whole. This is *ḳorbān*, rendered by R.V. *oblation* (Lev. i. 3, 10, 14; ii. 1; iii. 1, etc.). The literal meaning of *ḳorbān* is 'something brought near,' *i.e.* an offering with which Yahwe is approached.

In writings older than P the term which has a general significance is *minḥā*, which means a *present* or *tribute* such as may be offered to, or exacted by, an earthly monarch. As used in P, *minḥā* has acquired a restricted technical sense, and is applied exclusively to *the meal-offering*. It is assumed by some scholars that the word has this particular sense in early times also. That this, however, is not the case is proved by such passages as Gen. iv. 4, 5 (J), where the term is applied to the animal sacrifice of Abel equally with the vegetable sacrifice of Cain; and 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, where David uses the words:

'If Yahwe hath stirred thee up against me, let Him smell a *minḥā*,' the reference of the verb *smell* obviously being to the fragrant smoke of an *animal* sacrifice.

A detailed account of the sacrifices of Israel is to be found in the earlier chapters of Leviticus. Three classes of animal sacrifice are enumerated—the burnt-offering (i. 1-17, vi. 8-13), the sacrifice of peace-offerings (iii. 1-17, vii. 11-34), and the sin-offering (iv. 1—v. 13, vi. 24-30), with a special variety of this latter called the guilt-offering (v. 14—vi. 7, vii. 1-10). The meal-offering of vegetable produce is dealt with in ii. 1-16, vi. 14-23.

The sin and guilt offerings appear to be peculiar to P, since earlier writings show acquaintance with two forms of animal sacrifice only—the peace-offering and the burnt-offering.

**The Peace-offering, or Thank-offering.**—The term rendered in Leviticus 'sacrifice of peace-offerings' is perhaps better translated 'sacrifice of thanksgiving,' since *shélem* denotes *a requital*, and so, in a specialised sense, *a giving of thanks*. Sometimes the term *tōdhā* is employed with the same significance (*e.g.* Lev. vii. 12, xxii. 29). This sacrifice represents the survival of the sacrificial meal, which is the earliest form of sacrifice. The term employed to describe it in the older writings, in distinction from the burnt-offering, is often *zébaḥ* simply, *i.e. sacrifice* or *slaughter*. Such a usage belongs to the time when every slaughter of a domestic animal was a sacrificial act, *i.e.* to the pre-Deuteronomic period (*cf.* p. 46).

The ritual of the peace or thank offering, as described in P, is as follows:

The animal offered may be of the herd, or of the flock, either sheep or goat, male or female, without blemish. It is to be brought by the offerer to the door of the tent of meeting, and killed by him, after dedication by the imposition of the hand upon its head. The blood is caught by a priest in a basin, and tossed in a volume[1] against the altar; certain fat portions are burnt with fire, and the breast and right shoulder, as the choicest parts,

[1] Not *sprinkled* (R.V.). The verb in the original is quite distinct from that which denotes sprinkling with the fingers.

become the property of the officiating priest, after they have been dedicated to Yahwe by waving or heaving them before Him. From Lev. xxii. 23 it appears that, in cases where the sacrifice was not offered in fulfilment of a vow, the rule that the animal was to be without blemish might be slightly relaxed. According to Lev. vii. 11 ff. the meal-offering accompanied the sacrifice in the form of unleavened or leavened cakes mingled with oil. These seem to have been employed as forming the ordinary concomitants of a flesh meal.

In ancient times the flesh of the sacrifice, including the priest's portion and apparently also the fat which was to be burnt on the altar, was cooked by boiling (1 Sam. ii. 12 ff.). Boiling was also the method of preparation practised in the specialised form of this sacrifice which is represented by the Passover meal (Deut. xvi. 7), until P, in which roasting is expressly substituted (Ex. xii. 8, 9).

As we have already noticed, the idea which underlies the peace or thank offering is that of an act of communion with Yahwe by means of a common meal which he shares with His worshipper.

**The Burnt-offering.** — The burnt-offering is usually named *'ōla*, a term of which the most obvious explanation is 'that which *goes up*,' sc., upon the altar.

Another name which is sometimes employed is *kālīl*, a word which lays stress upon the *entire* consumption of the sacrifice by fire—'*whole* burnt-offering.'

The burnt-offering might consist, according to P, of a bullock, sheep, or goat, in every case a male without blemish, or of a turtle-dove or young pigeon. The ritual with regard to the dedication and slaying of the sacrifice, together with the offering of the blood, is the same as with the thank-offering. The beasts were skinned and divided into pieces by the priests, the legs and entrails being washed with water, and the whole offering was then consumed by fire upon the altar. In the case of a bird there are small variations in detail.

This sacrifice is clearly a gift-offering, the best that a man can bestow according to his means; as is shown by

the graduated scale, and also by the command, in the case of the two greater offerings, that the animal is to be without blemish. The general significance of the burnt-offering is that of an act of devotion or entire surrender to Yahwe, upon the part of the community as a whole, or of any individual member of it. This is typified by the fact that the animal is consumed whole upon the altar.

The burnt-offering was employed, in conjunction with the sacrificial meal of the thank-offering, upon any occasion which called for a specially great act of worship. Thus, *e.g.*, Saul offers a burnt-offering and thank-offerings before going to battle with the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 9 ff.); David offers both kinds of sacrifice when he brings up the ark to the City of David (2 Sam. vi. 17); and so does Solomon after the vision at Gibeon (1 Kings iii. 15), and at the dedication of the Temple (1 Kings viii. 63, 64). It is a burnt-offering of a lamb of the first year which is prescribed by P to be offered continually, morning and evening, on behalf of the community, as a token of perpetual devotion (Ex. xxix. 38 ff.).

In early times the burnt-offering seems also to have been used as a special act of *expiation*. We may notice Samuel's offering of a sucking lamb as a *kālīl*, after the long apostasy of Israel from Yahwe, and before the battle with the Philistines at Eben-ezer (1 Sam. vii. 9); and, again, David's sacrifice at the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, offered in order to stay the course of the pestilence which was devastating Jerusalem (2 Sam. xxiv. 21 ff.).

In cases such as these the burnt-offering appears to have answered the purpose which in P is fulfilled by the sin-offering.

**The Sin-offering and the Guilt-offering.**—We now pass to the sin-offering and the guilt-offering. As we have before remarked, there is little or no evidence to show that these sacrifices were known and used prior to the time of P. Earlier writers appear to regard *zebah* and *'ōlā*, the two forms of offering which we have noticed, as an exhaustive catalogue of animal sacrifices.

In the account of the reparation of the Temple in the

reign of Joash (2 Kings xii. 16) we have mention of the money for the guilt-offerings and the money for the sin-offerings as being not brought into the house of Yahwe, but assigned to the priests. This passage is, however, of ambiguous significance, and seems to refer to a money-fine. Again, in 1 Sam. vi. 4, the term 'guilt-offering' is applied to the golden images of tumours and mice which the Philistines sent as an offering to Yahwe when they restored the ark. These are the only two cases, prior to H, Ezekiel, and P, in which we find so much as a use of the terms which are employed in P to denote these sacrifices. It is true that in 1 Chr. xxix. 21-23 Hezekiah is said to have offered seven he-goats as a sin-offering at the purification of the Temple; but this sacrifice is so named from the standpoint of the Chronicler, which is that of P (*cf.* pp. 8 f.).

It is therefore not unreasonable to regard the sin- and guilt-offerings as later specialised forms of the older burnt-offering.

The sin- and guilt-offerings were to be offered by the community, or by an individual, for the restoration of the terms of relationship towards Yahwe, which had been forfeited through an *unintentional* offence against His law. For a *deliberate* offence no sacrifice was provided. Such an act is described as sinning 'with a high hand,' and the penalty is that the guilty individual is to be cut off from among the people of Yahwe (Num. xv. 30). The guilt-offering was also prescribed for an act of fraud committed against a neighbour.

The sin-offering, *ḥaṭṭāth*, is found in various grades, according to the standing and ability of the offerer and the nature of his offence. The offering for a priest (iv. 3) or for the whole congregation (iv. 14) is a bullock, for a ruler (iv. 23) a he-goat, for an ordinary individual a she-goat (iv. 28) or lamb (iv. 32) or two turtle-doves or young pigeons (v. 7), or, in cases of extreme poverty, the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour (v. 11).

When the sacrifice consists of an animal it must be without blemish, and it is brought, dedicated, and slain by the offerer in the same way as the burnt-offering. The distinctive characteristic of the sin-offering is the

special ritual of the atoning blood. Part of this is placed upon the horns or corner-projections of the altar of burnt-offering, and the remainder is poured out at the base of the altar. When the sin-offering is a bullock slain on behalf of a priest, or for the community, part of the blood is also sprinkled with the hand seven times before the veil of the sanctuary. The fat portions of the sacrifice, as in the case of the thank-offering, are burned upon the altar. The rest of the animal, if it be the bullock offered for the priest or for the congregation, is burned without the camp in a clean place. If, however, it be a sin-offering for an individual member of the community, it belongs to the priests, and is eaten by them in the court of the Holy Place.

The sin-offering of fine flour is offered plain, unmixed with oil and without frankincense—the usual accompaniments of the meal-offering. The priest burns a handful of the flour upon the altar, and the remainder is reckoned as a priestly due.

**Distinction of the Guilt-offering from the Sin-offering.**—The guilt-offering, *āshām*, as distinct from the sin-offering, appears to have been confined to offences against God or man which could be *estimated*, and so *covered by compensation*. Ordinarily the sacrifice consisted of a ram without blemish, together with restitution made to the full value of the wrong which had been committed, and one-fifth more than the value added by way of a fine.

The guilt-offering was brought, dedicated, and slain in the same way as the sin-offering, but no application seems to have been made of the blood to the altar, because the offence was expiated, not at the altar, but by compensation made for the wrong. As with the sin-offering, the fat portions were burned, and the rest of the animal went to the priests (vii. 7).

**Significance of the Sin- and Guilt-offerings.**—The purpose of both sin- and guilt-offering was piacular, *i.e.* they were offered to make atonement for or cover over the sin of the guilty community or individual. It is important to notice the manner in which this atonement was carried into effect. That the animal is not regarded as a vicarious *sin-bearer*, punished by the penalty of death,

is quite certain. The purpose of the imposition of the hand of the offerer is not the transference of guilt from him to the offering. Rather, since it has been seen to accompany the offering of the other forms of sacrifice—the thank-offering and the whole burnt-offering—it simply represents the *dedication* of the animal to Yahwe upon the part of the offerer. And again, if the sin of the offerer were thought to be transferred to the animal, its flesh would then of necessity be regarded as unclean. But, on the contrary, it is explicitly stated to be most holy (vi. 17, 25; vii. 6; *cf.* iv. 12).

We must, therefore, look elsewhere for the meaning of the sacrifice. We shall find it in the fact that the animal was always without blemish, the best that could be procured. The offering is therefore typical of a perfect sinless life which Yahwe consents to accept in place of the imperfect life of the worshipper. The offering is carried out through the entire dedication made by death, *i.e.* an offering of the *life* of the victim to Yahwe through the *blood* in which the life resides.

**The Day of Atonement.** — The sacrificial ritual of P found its culmination in the great day of Atonement once a year upon the tenth day of the seventh month. This fast-day, on account of the light which it sheds upon the meaning of the Levitical system, requires special notice.

The ceremonial of the day of Atonement is described at length in Lev. xvi. Other passages which should be consulted are Lev. xxiii. 26-32 (H); Num. xxix. 7-11; Ex. xxx. 10 (P).

The high-priest first chose for himself a young bullock for a sin-offering and a ram for a burnt-offering. He then put off his distinctive high-priestly vestments, bathed himself in water, and clothed himself entirely in vestments of white linen. After this he selected, on behalf of the congregation of Israel, two he-goats for a sin-offering and a ram for a burnt-offering. Upon the two goats he cast lots, the one lot being for Yahwe, the other for *Azâzēl*, a term which we shall presently discuss. His next step was to offer the bullock which he had chosen as a sin-offering for himself and his family. Then

taking a censer, and his hands being filled with incense, he entered into the most Holy Place, and put the incense upon the fire in the censer, that the cloud of incense might cover the mercy-seat and the ark. He then took the blood of the bullock, and sprinkled it upon the mercy-seat, and seven times in front of the mercy-seat.

Having thus made atonement for himself and his family, he went out into the court, and killed the goat upon which the lot had fallen for Yahwe, as a sin-offering for the congregation. Taking its blood, he went once again into the most Holy Place, and there did with it as he had done with the blood of the bullock; thus making atonement for the people, and purifying the most Holy Place from their sins. After this he went out into the Holy Place, and purified it also with the blood of the sin-offering, placing the blood upon the horns of the golden altar of incense (according to Ex. xxx. 10).

All this time the high-priest was alone in the tent of meeting, no one but he alone being allowed to enter until atonement had been made for him and for the congregation. When he came out, he at once proceeded to make atonement for the altar of burnt-offering, taking some of the blood of the bullock and of the goat and putting it upon the horns, and then sprinkling it upon the altar seven times.

He then took the second goat, upon which the lot had fallen for Azazel, and, laying both his hands upon its head, he confessed over it all the sins of the children of Israel, which were said thus to be placed upon the head of the goat. The goat was then sent away into the wilderness by the hand of a man specially appointed. This official let loose the goat in a solitary place for Azazel, and then returned, and was obliged to wash his clothes and bathe before he could rejoin the congregation.

The meaning of the term *Azāzēl* has caused much discussion. The rendering of the A.V. is 'scape-goat'; but this interpretation is now abandoned, as the expression is obviously not a description of the animal itself, but is intended to indicate its *destination*. It

is therefore generally considered that Azazel was the name given to a demon who was supposed to haunt solitary places, and who in this special ritual is taken as the personification of the spirit of evil. The sending away of the goat, charged with the sins of Israel, to this demon meant that the sins were thus borne right away from the presence of Yahwe, never more to be remembered against His people. This special goat is thus certainly regarded as a *sin-bearer*.

Having dismissed the living goat, the high-priest entered the tent of meeting, put off his linen garments, bathed, and resumed his ordinary official robes. This being done, he came out and offered the two rams for burnt-offerings, the one for himself, the other for the congregation. Then, the fat of the sin-offerings, the bullock and the goat, having been consumed upon the altar, their carcases were carried outside the camp and consumed entirely by fire, the man to whose lot this duty appertained having to bathe and wash his clothes before he could re-enter the congregation.

A point in the ritual of this day which should be specially noticed is the manner in which the burnt-offerings follow upon the sin-offerings. Atonement must be made for Israel, and their sins must be taken out of the way, in order that they may have it in their power to dedicate themselves afresh by entire surrender to the service of Yahwe, such as is typified by the whole burnt-offering.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE COVENANT-RELATION BETWEEN THE GOD OF ISRAEL AND HIS PEOPLE—ITS MORAL REQUIREMENTS

We have noticed the manner in which the relationship between Yahwe and Israel was, from the earliest times, regarded as based upon a covenant, and we have considered the outward conditions under which this covenant-relationship was maintained, endeavouring to gather something of their inward meaning.

It now remains to notice, as briefly as may be, the *moral requirements* which the covenant was thought to presuppose, and to mention the principal terms by which these requirements are described in the Old Testament.

The main fact of the covenant, then, was that Yahwe had taken Israel for His people, and that Israel had taken Yahwe, not as one god to be worshipped among others, but as their only God. It is universally acknowledged that as far back as we can trace the worship of Yahwe in Israel, *i.e.* at least as far back as Israel's existence as a nation, Yahwe's claim to Israel's allegiance appears as an *exclusive claim*: 'Thou shalt have none other gods beside Me.'

Righteousness.—Fidelity to this covenant-relationship upon either side is generally described by the term *Righteousness*, *ṣédheḳ* or *ṣedhāḳā*. Yahwe's Righteousness may be displayed in His vindicating His people against the encroachments of a foreign foe. Thus, in the old song of Deborah, it is said that Israel, after deliverance from the Canaanite,

'shall rehearse the Righteous acts of Yahwe,
Even the Righteous acts of His rule in Israel' (Judges v. 11).

But since Yahwe, in His performance of the covenant-requirements, must have regard to the manner in which Israel carry out their part of the obligation, and visit wilful breach of the terms with the chastisement which is its due, Yahwe's Righteousness may manifest itself not merely in favour, but also in punishment. If He is true to His promises, He is also true to His threatenings. Thus, in 1 Sam. xii. 7 ff., Samuel's recital of 'the Righteous acts of Yahwe' embraces not merely His favour and help granted to Israel in time past, but also His visitations upon them of the punishment merited by neglect of His requirements. And so again, according to 2 Isa., when Yahwe has by the Exile sufficiently punished His people for their sins (xl. 1), He then raises up Cyrus and sets him forth upon his victorious career as the instrument of His Righteousness, *i.e.* in order to vindicate His covenant-relationship with His people through their deliverance, after the course of discipline which they have undergone (xli. 2).

This leads us directly to a marked characteristic of Yahwe's Righteousness. However He may punish, He cannot finally reject Israel as a nation. He regards the covenant with Israel as indestructible, not to be annulled through the sins and shortcomings of any particular generation. This is because the covenant has been made with Israel's righteous ancestors, and contains a promise to their seed for ever (*cf.* pp. 51 ff.). When Israel's breaking of the terms of the covenant, their forgetfulness of Yahwe, merits an utter forfeiture of the privileges of the relationship, then Yahwe thinks of His promise to Abraham and his immediate descendants, above all of His oath to David, the man after His own heart, and for their sake He spares while chastising.

Thus a psalmist can say :

'He hath remembered His covenant for ever,
The word which He commanded to a thousand generations ;
The covenant which He made with Abraham,
And His oath unto Isaac ;
And confirmed the same unto Jacob for a statute,
To Israel for an everlasting covenant' (Ps. cv. 8-10).

And, again, another psalmist speaks of the indestructi-

bility of the promise made to David in the following terms :—

> 'My mercy will I keep for him for evermore,
> And My covenant shall stand fast with him.
> His seed also will I make to endure for ever,
> And his throne as the days of heaven.
> If his children forsake My law,
> And walk not in My judgments;
> If they break My statutes,
> And keep not My commandments;
> Then will I visit their transgression with the rod,
> And their iniquity with stripes.
> But My mercy will I not utterly take from him,
> Nor suffer My faithfulness to fail.
> My covenant will I not break,
> Nor alter the thing that is gone out of My lips.
> Once have I sworn by My holiness;
> I will not lie unto David.
> His seed shall endure for ever,
> And his throne as the sun before Me.
> It shall be established for ever as the moon,
> And as the faithful witness in the sky' (Ps. lxxxix. 28-37).

Thus, too, we find the statement, made to the exiles on the eve of their return, 'I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David' (2 Isa. lv. 3).

It is upon this fact of Yahwe's Righteousness as binding Him to recognise the indestructibility of His covenant, and compelling Him to have regard to the honour of His name, to act 'for His name's sake,' that the prophets build their doctrine of the final survival of a purified remnant of the nation, and a future Messianic age (*cf.* pp. 97 ff.).

On Israel's part, Righteousness is exhibited in loyal obedience to Yahwe under the terms of the covenant. Naturally, upon this side, the term is susceptible of expansion and adjustment in accordance with the religious consciousness of different ages. In the pre-prophetic age Righteousness no doubt meant little more than a careful performance of the rites and customs associated with religion. The writing prophets of the eighth century first emphasise the truth that Righteous-

ness enters into the sphere of social morality, as between man and man, and that fidelity to this conception of the meaning of the term is of more value in the sight of Yahwe than the mere offering of sacrifice and observance of festival and fast. Not, of course, that such a view of Righteousness was entirely lacking from an earlier stage of Yahwe's religion. So much can be gathered from the statement of a man's duty towards his neighbour as set forth in the Ten Commandments and the Book of the Covenant. Only it is clear, from the writings of Hosea and Amos, Isaiah and Micah, that the conception of man's social duty, as connected with religious obligation, was generally very dim and liable to be overlooked, and needed to be greatly emphasised in order that it might be set in its true position as part of the religion of Yahwe.

In post-exilic times, when the religious obligations of Israel had become codified in the enactments of the Priestly Code, Righteousness seems to have gained the rather technical sense of a scrupulous regard for the fulfilment of 'the Law,' and a distortion of this specialised meaning is seen later in the elevation of the letter of the Law above its spirit, which was so characteristic of the Pharisaism of our Lord's day.

This, however, is not the Righteousness to which the prophets look forward as destined to mark the purified nation of the future. Jeremiah, in speaking of the 'Branch' who is to be raised up to David—the ideal Messianic King of the new era, uses the words, 'In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is his name whereby he shall be called, *Yahwe is our Righteousness*' (xxiii. 6). The prophet does not state the manner in which this age of Righteousness is to dawn upon the nation. The King is to dispense civic Righteousness; he will deal with such wisdom as will ensure his prosperity, and will execute judgment and justice in the land. But the point which is most prominently brought forward is that the Righteousness of the nation in the future will not be dependent upon itself, but, as set forth in the symbolic name of the Messiah, will flow directly from Yahwe.

We may well compare the passage in which the same

prophet cites the terms under which Yahwe will, in this bright future, conclude a new covenant with His people: 'After those days, saith Yahwe, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know Yahwe: for they shall all know Me, from the least to the greatest of them, saith Yahwe: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more' (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34).[1]

**Faithfulness.**—A term which is often coupled with Righteousness is *Faithfulness*, *ĕmūnā*. The literal meaning of the word is 'firmness' or 'steadiness.' This first signification may be illustrated by Ex. xvii. 12 (JE), where it is said of Moses' hands that they 'were steady' (lit. 'steadiness,' *ĕmūnā*) when they were held up by Aaron and Hur during Israel's battle with Amalek.

Faithfulness, as used in the Old Testament, denotes the condition of heart upon which reliance can be placed. As far as it can be distinguished from Righteousness, it may be said to be more of a passive quality, denoting generally the basis upon which Righteousness exhibits itself.

Yahwe's Righteousness and Faithfulness are often mentioned together:—

> 'He shall judge the world with Righteousness,
> And the peoples with His Faithfulness' (Ps. xcvi. 13).
>
> 'Hear my prayer, Yahwe, give ear to my supplications:
> In Thy Faithfulness answer me, and in Thy Righteousness' (Ps. cxliii. 1).
>
> 'Thy Lovingkindness, Yahwe, is in the heavens;
> Thy Faithfulness reacheth unto the skies.
> Thy Righteousness is like the mountains of God' (Ps. xxxvi. 5, 6).

In the same way, the two terms are used together of the Messianic King in Isa. xi. 5:—

> 'And Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins,
> And Faithfulness the girdle of his reins.'

Yahwe is a God of Faithfulness (Deut. xxxii. 4); His

[1] *Cf.* Driver, *Sermons on the Old Testament*, pp. 212 ff.

Faithfulness was exhibited in His oath to David (Ps. lxxxix. 49); He cannot suffer it to fail (Ps. lxxxix. 33); and it endures unto all generations (Ps. c. 5, cxix. 90).

On the human side, Faithfulness is similarly placed side by side with Righteousness:—

'He that breatheth out Faithfulness sheweth forth Righteousness' (Prov. xii. 17); 'A Righteous man by his Faithfulness liveth' (Hab. ii. 4). Faithfulness is the basis upon which the psalmist (cxix. 30) will take his stand—'the way of Faithfulness.'

Human Faithfulness is also, like human Righteousness, exhibited in the social intercourse between man and man. We may notice 2 Kings xii. 15, xxii. 7, where the term is used of scrupulous honesty in a matter of financial trust.[1]

We now pass to two more specialised conceptions of Yahwe's moral relationship to Israel. The one of these it is convenient to describe generally as the contribution of prophetic thought, the other as the contribution of priestly thought.

The former is the idea of *Love*, the latter the idea of *Holiness*.

**Love.**—The idea of *Love* as a determining factor of the relationship between Yahwe and Israel, though, it may be supposed, not unthought of in earlier times, yet is certainly first brought into special prominence in the Book of Hosea. With Hosea it is regarded as *the* great factor of the relationship. The same line of thought is taken up and worked out by the writer of Deuteronomy. Jeremiah, again, shows the influence both of Hosea and of Deuteronomy; and the idea, thus developed, is passed on as a heritage to later times.

[1] A term closely allied in sense to *ĕmūnā*, and from the same root, is *ĕméth*, A.V., R.V. '*Truth*,' employed to denote fidelity to the covenant-relationship. Cf. *e.g.* of Yahwe, Mic. vii. 20, Jer. x. 10, Ps. xxxi. 5, xxv. 10, lxi. 8, cxvii. 2; coupled or paralleled with *Righteousness*, Zech. viii. 8, Ps. lxxxv. 11, 12, lxxxix. 14, *cf.* xix. 10; of Israel's relationship to Yahwe, 1 Kings ii. 4, 2 Kings xx. 3, Hos. iv. 1, Ps. li. 6; coupled with *Righteousness*, 1 Kings iii. 6, 2 Isa. xlviii. 1; between man and man, Ex. xviii. 21, Zech. vii. 9, Ezek. xviii. 8, 9.

Hosea's thought as to the covenant-relationship seems to have been suggested to him through his personal experience. The brief details of the narrative are to be found in chaps. i. and iii., and are generally understood to be literal rather than allegorical. His wife proves herself unfaithful to the marriage-relationship, finally deserting him, and sinking, apparently, into the position of a slave. Yet, in spite of all, the prophet's love for her is such that he will not cast her off. He buys her back from her ignominious position and restores her to his home, firmly but tenderly holding her in seclusion for a time, that she may be weaned from the desire to resume her licentious course, and upon his side again plighting his troth to her that he will never form connection with any woman but with her only. The phrasing of chap. i. 2, 'When Yahwe spake at the first with Hosea, Yahwe said unto Hosea, Go, take thee a wife of whoredoms,' does not imply that the woman whom the prophet married was a harlot and that he took her knowingly as such, but rather that she can be so described, because the evil bent, which was afterwards to be developed, was already present in her.

Hosea's love for Gomer, strong and disciplined as resting upon a moral basis, yet at the same time infinitely tender, suggests to him a parable of the covenant-relationship between Yahwe and the apostate Israel of the closing years of the Northern Kingdom. His reclaiming of his wife out of her miserable state is dictated by a love like that with which 'Yahwe loveth the children of Israel' (iii. 1).

Thus the way is prepared for the representation of the bond between Yahwe and Israel as being like to the marriage-relationship. Israel acts unfaithfully and must undergo the penalty; but Yahwe's Love is changeless, will never cast off, and must at last triumph: 'I will betroth thee unto me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in Righteousness, and in Judgment, and in Lovingkindness, and in Mercies. I will even betroth thee unto me in Faithfulness; and thou shalt know Yahwe' (ii. 19, 20).

Or again, Israel is Yahwe's refractory son, yet, none the less, the son of His Love: 'When Israel was a

child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. As they called them, so they went from them: they sacrificed unto the Bĕălīm and burned incense to graven images. Yet I taught Israel to go; I took them on my arms; but they knew not that I healed them. I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of Love' (xi. 1-4). In this passage, xi. 4, as in iii. 1, the word employed is *ahăbha*, the ordinary term for the strongest of human affections. In ii. 19, however, we find the expression *ḥésedh*, rendered '*Lovingkindness.*' This word, as distinct from *ahăbha*, gives prominence to the moral basis upon which the Divine Love rests; and it is this idea which conditions the whole tone of Hosea's book.

*Hésedh*, as viewed by Hosea, has a threefold relationship. It is, as we have noticed, the bond which unites Yahwe to Israel. It should be also the bond which unites Israel to Yahwe. And, in vital connection with this latter, there lies the social obligation between man and man. It is Lovingkindness (R.V. 'mercy') that Yahwe desires of Israel rather than the barren performance of sacrificial ritual (vi. 6): Israel's neglect of this obligation is definitely described as a violation of the covenant-relationship (vi. 7); their Lovingkindness (R.V. 'goodness') is as transient as the morning cloud, and as the dew which goeth early away (vi. 4): it is lacking altogether from the land, and, in consequence, social anarchy is rampant (iv. 1, 2). The prophet's exhortation is, 'Sow to yourselves in Righteousness, reap according to Lovingkindness (R.V. 'mercy'): break up your fallow ground: for it is time to seek Yahwe, till He come and rain Righteousness upon you' (x. 12). 'Turn thou to thy God: keep Lovingkindness and Judgment, and wait on thy God continually' (xii. 6).

It is this same idea of Love as the covenant-bond which is worked out at length in the Book of Deuteronomy. The writer, as a monotheist, emphasises the fact that while Yahwe, the God of the whole earth, might have set His choice upon any of the nations, He has chosen Israel as 'a people of peculiar possession' (vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18). Such a choice is an act of sovereign Love, and calls for Love in return. Israel is

to love Yahwe with all the heart, and with all the mind, and with all the strength, to worship Him as the only God, and utterly to destroy all traces of idolatrous worship from out of Yahwe's land. The duty of loving, fearing, cleaving to Yahwe is again and again reiterated. And, as in Hosea, this duty of Love is extended into the social sphere, and is to determine every act of common life between man and man. To emphasise this principle, and to illustrate its application in detail, the writer sets himself to reformulate an older legislation, dwelling in his peroration (chap. xxviii.) upon the blessings which will ensue from the observance of Yahwe's ordinances, and the curses which will be entailed by their neglect.

The term *ḥésedh* occurs in Deuteronomy only three times, each time of Yahwe's relationship to Israel described as a covenant, either expressly (vii. 9-12) or by implication (v. 10). The common expression is *aḥăbha*, and the allied verb *ăhabh*. The moral basis of the Love between Yahwe and Israel is, however, prominent throughout the Book, and explains the stern repressive measures which aim at the eradication of idolatry and immorality. Yahwe, who is a God of Love, is also a God of Righteousness, and the requirements of Righteousness may not be overridden. Love must be moulded in strict accordance with this principle.[1]

Holiness.—The idea of *Holiness*, as a moral requirement of the covenant-relationship, appears to be mainly a product of monotheistic thought. Holiness, *ḳódesh*, means literally *separation*, the root-conception probably being that of *cutting*, and so, of *cutting off*.

The fact of Yahwe's awful Holiness is first emphasised by Isaiah. Yahwe is unique in His unapproachable majesty. The Seräphīm—typical of the highest of created beings—veil their gaze and their persons in lowly adoration before His Presence (Isa. vi.). It is in accordance with this opening revelation to Isaiah of Yahwe's character that we find the title 'the Holy One of Israel' frequently employed by the prophet (i. 4, v. 19, 24, x. 20, xii. 6, xvii. 7, xxix. 19, xxx. 11, 12,

[1] *Cf.* especially Driver on *Deuteronomy*, Introduction, pp. xix ff.

xxxi. 1, xxxvii. 23; *cf.* xxix. 23, 'the Holy One of Jacob'). This title is taken up and used very frequently in 2 Isa. (xli. 14, 16, 20, xliii. 3, 14, xlv. 11, xlvii. 4, xlviii. 17, xlix. 7, liv. 5, lv. 5, lviii. 13, lx. 9, 14).

Upon man's side, Holiness possesses a twofold aspect. It implies both a *separation* from the taint of sin, and a *consecration* to the service of Yahwe. The prophet, keenly conscious of his human defilement beneath the searching rays of Yahwe's glory, is cleansed from the guilt of his unclean lips (*vv.* 6 f.), in order that he may be able to offer himself as Yahwe's messenger: 'Here am I, send me' (*v.* 8).

And as with the individual, so with the nation. The idea that Israel must be, by the terms of the covenant, *a holy people* is prominent in several passages in Deut. (vii. 6, xiv. 2, 21, xxvi. 19, xxviii. 9). Ex. xix. 5, 6 is, as the passage stands, probably later, and shows the influence of Deuteronomy and of later priestly legislation: 'If ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, ye shall be unto me a peculiar possession out of all the peoples, for all the earth is mine; and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation.'

The application of the demands of Holiness to the minutiæ of daily life was the work rather of the priest than of the prophet. The Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.), and Ezekiel, 'the priest in a prophet's mantle,' give impulse to a movement which later on takes shape in the enactments of the Priestly Code. The keynote of this legislation is found in the reiterated command, 'Ye shall therefore be holy, because I am holy' (Lev. xi. 44, 45 P, xix. 2, xx. 26, xxi. 8 H). Thus the idea of Holiness, as reduced to practice, may be said to be mainly the contribution of priestly thought, and explains the minute scrupulosity in matters of ceremonial detail which characterises the religion of post-exilic Judaism. Israel survives the Exile, no longer as a *nation*, but as a *religious community*, or *Church*.

# CHAPTER V

## THE THEOCRATIC STATE

The term *Theocracy* seems to have been invented by Josephus as a description of the constitution of the state in ancient Israel. He says that 'some have intrusted the government of their states to monarchies, others to oligarchies, others, again, to democracies. But our lawgiver would have none of these systems, but, as one may say by a slight violence to language,[1] he put forward a *Theocracy* as the form of government, assigning the rule and power to God.'[2]

Theocracy, as here used, means that the state is constituted upon Religion. Yahwe, who is the God of the nation, is also the King of the nation; all law and guidance in affairs of state must come ultimately from Him.

**Yahwe as King in Israel.**—The fact that Yahwe could be and was conceived and spoken of as *King* in early times, has already been observed. This is illustrated by popular usage in compound proper names, in which the title 'King' without nearer definition is referred to Yahwe (*cf.* pp. 30 f.); and also by the title *Yahwe Sebhā'ōth*, which implies that Yahwe actually fulfils the kingly office as leader of His armies against the foe (*cf.* pp. 25, 37).

Yahwe is said to have assumed the kingship at the commencement of Israel's national life:—

> 'He became King in Jeshurun
> When the heads of the people were gathered,
> All the tribes of Israel together' (Deut. xxxiii. 5).[3]

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[1] *βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον.* [2] *Contra Apionem*, ii. 16.

[3] Deut. xxxiii. is an old poem belonging to the prosperous days of the monarchy in the Northern Kingdom. The manner in

His mighty act of redemption, by which He delivered His people out of Egypt, established Him as 'King for ever and ever' (Ex. xv. 18 E). Thus He is 'the King of Israel' (2 Isa. xli. 21), or 'the King of Jacob' (2 Isa. xliv. 6).

It is to be noticed, however, that the Theocratic idea, in so far as it means simply that the national god was regarded as the national king, was not, as Josephus seems to have thought, the exclusive possession of Israel. We find the same idea to have been current among the surrounding nations of the Semitic group with regard to *their* national deities. Thus the Ammonite god is styled *Mólekh* or 'King' simply, while proper names compounded with this title exist in Assyrian (e.g. *Abū-malik* = Hebrew *Abi-mélekh*), Phœnician (e.g. *Melḳart* = 'King of the city'), etc.[1]

The lines upon which we may trace the real difference between the religion of Israel and the religions of the kindred nations are acutely indicated by Professor Robertson Smith. First noticing the fact of resemblance so far as regards the bare idea of Theocracy, he goes on to remark: 'The religious constitution of Israel, then, as laid down by Moses and consolidated in the institution of the kingship, was not the entirely unique thing that it is frequently supposed to be. Indeed, if Moses had brought in a whole system of new and utterly revolutionary ideas, he could not have carried the people with him to any practical effect. There was a great difference between the religion of Israel and other religions; but that difference cannot be reduced to an abstract formula; it lay in the personal difference, if I may so speak, between Jehovah and other gods of the nations, and all

which reference is made to Judah (*v.* 7), makes probable the inference that the division between the two kingdoms was a past event at the time when the poem was composed.

The title *Yeshūrūn* (so *v.* 26, xxxii. 15) applied to Israel is connected with the adjective *yāshār*, 'upright,' and means 'the upright one,' describing Israel as ideally viewed.

[1] *Cf.* generally the manner in which divine titles descriptive of rank or dominion are common to Israel with other Semitic nations, pp. 26 ff.

that lay in it only came out bit by bit in the course of a history which was ruled by Jehovah's providence, and shaped by Jehovah's love.'[1]

We have now to notice the manner in which Yahwe was pleased to govern His state, and to make known His will to His subjects.

**The Judge and King as Yahwe's Agents.**—In the first place, we find an earthly representative of the Divine sovereignty. In the early days of the settlement in Canaan, when the tribes were disorganised and not yet welded into a nation, this representative was the *Judge, shōphēt,* raised up for a special emergency as the instrument by which Yahwe might vindicate His power against the foes of His people.

The fact that the Judge is nothing more than the outward embodiment of Yahwe's leadership is constantly emphasised. He never acts at his own initiative, but always receives a Divine summons to the mission which he has to undertake (*cf.* Judges iii. 10, 15; iv. 6, vi. 11 ff.; xi. 29 a; xiii. 2 ff.). Again, the overruling hand of Yahwe shows itself prominent above the resources of human strategy. This is apparent in the forces of nature pictured as aiding Deborah and Barak in the battle (Judges v. 20, 21), as they had aided Joshua at Beth-horon (Josh. x. 11-14); in Gideon's little army triumphing over the hosts of Midian (Judges vii.; *cf.* especially *v.* 2); and in the miraculous strength of Samson dependent upon the fact that he is a Nazirite of God (Judges xvi. 17). So, too, Israel's battle-cry against Midian is 'The sword of Yahwe and of Gideon!'[2] the name of the Divine leader figuring before that of his servant (Judges vii. 20).

At the next stage of Israel's history, when the loosely connected federation of tribes begins to be organised as a nation, we find that a permanent representative of Yahwe's kingship takes the place of the merely temporary leader. The *King, mélekh,* succeeds to the Judge.

Here it must be observed that in the old narratives the

[1] *The Prophets of Israel,* p. 53.

[2] Or, 'For Yahwe and Gideon!' the word 'sword' being a later gloss. *Cf.* Moore on *Judges* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), p. 210.

opinion is more than once expressed that a permanent hereditary monarchy is inconsistent with the Divine monarchy. Gideon's answer to the invitation of the men of Israel that he shall assume such a position over them is, 'I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: Yahwe shall rule over you' (Judges viii. 22, 23). So, too, in the composite account of Saul's election to the kingdom, one of the narratives[1] regards Israel's request for a human king as a definite rejection of Yahwe. The nation fails to recognise Yahwe's Divine kingship, and is thus guilty of a great wickedness (1 Sam. viii. 7; x. 19; xii. 12, 17).

Generally, however, the king holds his recognised position in the theocratic constitution as Yahwe's vicegerent. The other narrative of Saul's election looks upon the new monarch as specially selected and anointed by Yahwe as His instrument for the deliverance of His people out of the hands of the Philistines. The appointment is, in fact, a mark of Yahwe's favourable regard towards His worshippers: 'I have looked upon my people, because their cry is come unto me' (1 Sam. ix. 15, 16; x. 1). Thus the king is 'Yahwe's anointed,' his person is regarded as sacred, and any hurt or insult aimed at him is sacrilege of the gravest character, meriting instant death (1 Sam. xxiv. 6, 10, xxvi. 9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam. i. 14, xix. 21). The ideal of the theocratic monarch is most nearly represented by David, whom Yahwe, by the mouth of His prophet, characterises as 'a man after His own heart' (1 Sam. xiii. 14). For David, with all his shortcomings, always recognises the sacred trust which has been committed to him as king over Yahwe's heritage, and realises, in the main, that condition of dependence and reliance upon the Divine Ruler which should be characteristic of the human ruler in the theocratic state. As we shall see later, it is the promise

[1] This narrative is found in 1 Sam. viii. 1-22, x. 17-27a; xii. 1-25; the other (and probably earlier) narrative in 1 Sam. ix. 1-x. 16, x. 27 b (reading with R.V. *marg.* 'And it came to pass after about a month, etc')—xi. 15. Chap. xi. 12-15 appears to have received its present form at the hands of the welder of the two narratives.

made to David and to his seed after him which is taken up by the writing prophets, and becomes the soil out of which is developed the figure of the Messianic King, Yahwe's ideal Theocratic Representative (*cf.* pp. 98 ff.).

But besides a visible representative, acting as the agent of His will, Yahwe also needs a medium through which His will may be made known to the theocratic ruler, and to his subjects, collectively and individually. This medium of Revelation assumes a double form, taking shape on the one hand in the *Priest*, and on the other in the *Prophet*.

**The Priest as Yahwe's Mouthpiece.**—To be the guardian and expositor of the oracle of Yahwe appears in early times to have been the main function of the priest in Israel. We may refer to the section in Deut. xxxiii.[1] which speaks of the tribe of Levi, in whom the hereditary right of priesthood was vested. Here the priest is regarded as charged with the care of Yahwe's *Tummīm* and *Ūrīm*, as showing the *judgments* and *direction* of Yahwe, and only in the secondary place as setting sweet smoke in Yahwe's nostrils, and whole burnt-offerings upon His altar (*vv.* 8-10).

**Ūrīm and Tummīm.**—The meaning and nature of *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* are obscure. According to P (Ex. xxviii. 30, Lev. viii. 8) they were concrete objects which were placed in a small pouch[2] connected with the *Ēphōd* of the high-priest, and worn upon his breast. This pouch, on account of the function fulfilled by its contents, was known as 'the pouch of judgment' (Ex. xxviii. 15, 29, 30). The use to which *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* were put is clear to us from a passage which, though mutilated through textual corruption in the Hebrew, is fortunately preserved in the Septuagint in its original form. Saul's prayer (1 Sam. xiv. 41), when he is seeking an oracle of Yahwe, appears in R.V. as 'Shew the right,' *marg.* 'Give a perfect lot,' an accommodation to the context for the sake of giving sense to two untranslatable Hebrew words which are a mere fragment of the original text. This text, as found in the Septuagint, runs as follows:—

[1] *Cf.* footnote, p. 77.
[2] A.V., R.V., 'breastplate.'

'Wherefore hast Thou not answered Thy servant this day? if this iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, O Yahwe, God of Israel, give *Ūrīm*; but if it be in Thy people Israel, give *Tummīm*.' Thus it is clear that *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* were a means of *casting lots* in order to obtain a divine decision upon a question of difficulty. Possibly they were two stones of different appearance; though, in default of evidence of any kind, this can only be conjectured. *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* were probably, in early times as in the time of P, connected with the *Ēphōd*, which, as we have already noticed, was employed by the priest in obtaining oracles for Saul and David (*cf.* p. 44).

It is clear that the oracle obtained by such a means can only have been of the simplest kind; an answer *Yes* or *No*, *This* or *That*. Besides the passage just cited, where the question is between the guilt of Saul and Jonathan on the one hand and that of the people on the other, we may notice 1 Sam. xxiii. 10, 11, where David's questions are, 'Will Saul come down to Keilah?' and the lot answers 'Yes'; 'Will the men of Keilah deliver me up?' and the same response is given. In 1 Sam. xxviii. 6 it is related that at the final stage of Saul's rejection by Yahwe, Yahwe did not answer him by *Ūrīm* or by dreams or by prophets. From Ezra ii. 63 = Neh. vii. 65 we learn that in post-exilic times difficult questions were reserved 'until there stood up a priest with *Ūrīm* and with *Tummīm*.'

Tōrā.—The general name for the oracle of Yahwe, whether obtained by lot or otherwise, is *tōrā*.

*Tōrā* is rendered *law* by A.V., R.V., but really denotes *pointing out*, and so, *direction* or *instruction*.

In the passage to which we have already referred, Deut. xxxiii. 10.

> 'They shall show Thy judgments to Jacob,
> And Thy *tōrā* to Israel,'

the verb '*show*' (*yōrū*) is the cognate verb to the substantive *tōrā*.

It seems to be clear that *tōrā* in early times usually denotes something oral, rather than something written down, as is suggested by the rendering '*law*.' In its

widest application the term always means *oral instruction* or *advice*. Thus we find allusion to the *tōrā* of a father or mother for the moral guidance of their children (Prov. i. 8, iii. 1, iv. 2, vi. 20, 23, vii. 2), to 'the loving *tōrā*' in the mouth of a good and wise wife (Prov. xxxi. 26), and to the *tōrā* of the sages (Prov. xiii. 14; *cf.* xxviii. 4, 7, 9, xxix. 18). The oral nature of the priestly *tōrā* is illustrated by the fact that the term can be employed of *soothsaying*: 'the terebinth of the diviners' (Judges ix. 37) appears to be identical with 'the terebinth of the *tōrā*-giver' (*mōré* Gen. xvi. 6 J; *cf.* Judges vii. 1, 'the hill of the *tōrā*-giver').

It has been thought by some that the root-meaning of *tōrā* is that of *casting lots*, but this is uncertain. It may, however, be noticed that in Jer. ii. 8 the priests are described as those who *handle* or *manipulate* the *tōrā*. *Tōrā*, while including the answer obtained by *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm*, doubtless also includes answers to hard questions upon matters ritual or civil which the priest was qualified to give in the capacity of *judge*, as being the conservator of an hereditary *oral tradition*. Such an oral *tōrā* in post-exilic times upon a question of ritual is given in Hagg. ii. 11-13: 'Thus saith Yahwe Sebhā'ōth: Ask now the priests a *tōrā*,[1] saying, If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or wine, or oil, or any meat, shall it become holy? And the priests answered and said, No. Then said Haggai, If one that is unclean by a dead body touch any of these, shall it be unclean? And the priests answered and said, It shall be unclean.' *Cf.* also Mal. ii. 7, 'For a priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek a *tōrā* from his mouth.'

The institution of the priestly *tōrā* of Yahwe is traced back to Moses in Ex. xviii. (E). Moses sits all day long, while the people come to him 'to inquire of *Élōhīm*,' bringing to him such matters of dispute as may arise 'between a man and his neighbour.' Then he makes known to them 'the statutes of the *Elōhīm* and His *tōrās*.' Upon the advice of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, this system of procedure is modified. Simple cases

[1] The rendering of A.V., R.V., 'concerning the law,' is an impossible interpretation of the Hebrew.

which can quite well be settled by ordinary civil law and custom are handed over to men chosen, not from any special body, but 'out of all the people able men, such as fear *Elōhīm*, men of truth, hating unjust gain.' On the other hand, Moses is to 'be to the people as representing *Elōhīm*,' and to 'bring the causes unto *Elōhīm*' which the judges thus appointed shall refer to him, as too difficult to be settled by their merely human discrimination (*vv.* 13-23).

Thus, as we have noticed elsewhere (pp. 15 f.), the priest, in his capacity of judge, can be spoken of by the title *Elōhīm*.

*Tōrā* 'always remains the *vox propria* for the priestly decisions, especially in the administration of justice.'[1] Thus Micah censures the corrupt priests of his day because they 'give *tōrā* for hire' (Mic. iii. 11); Zephaniah complains that the priests have 'done violence to' or 'abused the *tōrā*' (Zeph. iii. 4). So, too, Jeremiah's threats of the calamity impending upon Judah and Jerusalem is met by the confident assertion that '*tōrā* shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet' (Jer. xviii. 18).

The earliest reference to a *written tōrā* appears to be Ex. xxiv. 12 (E). Moses is commanded to ascend the mount, and there receive the tables of stone which bear 'the *tōrā* and the commandment' which Yahwe has written to instruct the people. Here the reference is to the Ten Commandments. An allusion to this written *tōrā* may perhaps be found in Deut. xxxiii. 4 a: 'A *tōrā* did Moses command us.'[2] That the idea that a *tōrā* or body of *tōrās* could be committed to writing was not foreign to Hosea appears from a passage which, though somewhat doubtful in text, is clear in the main drift. Yahwe says, 'If I write for him (Israel) ten thousand of my *tōrās*, they are counted as those of a stranger' (Hos. viii. 12).[3]

[1] Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, § 10, 4.

[2] It is, however, not improbable that the passage is a later insertion explaining 'Thy words' of v. 3 as referring to the Deuteronomic code. *Cf.* Dillmann *ad loc.* This seems at any rate to be the code intended by the reference to 'the Book of Yahwe's tōrā' inserted (v. 26 a) in the narrative of Josh. xxiv. (JE).

[3] Perhaps we ought to read 'the words of my *tōrās*' for 'ten thousand of my *tōrās*.'

The first *law book* which is definitely named *the Book of the tōrā* is Deuteronomy. Such is Hilkiah's description of the book which he discovers in the Temple in the 18th year of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 8). Here, however, the definite form of the title seems to imply that the existence of a book of written *tōrā* was not previously unheard of, and, in fact, the name *tōrā* might have been (and doubtless was) applied to the older 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex. xx. 23-xxiii. 33 J).

In post-exilic times the title *the tōrā* refers (as in Chronicles, Malachi, Daniel, and many late Psalms) to the law of the Priestly Code, and the final application of the term is to the Pentateuch as the first division of the Hebrew canon.

**The Prophet as Yahwe's Mouthpiece.**—But there is a prophetic *tōrā* as well as a priestly. The prophet also speaks in Yahwe's name, and the utterance to which he gives voice may be described as the 'direction' of Yahwe. Accordingly, *tōrā* is the name applied by Isaiah to his own prophecies (i. 10, v. 24, viii. 16, 20, xxx. 9). Chapter viii. 16 is Yahwe's command to Isaiah, 'Bind thou up the testimony, seal the *tōrā* among my disciples'—the earliest reference to a written prophetical *tōrā*. So, too, Yahwe's ideal Servant has a *tōrā* to communicate to the nations (2 Isa. xlii. 4; *cf.* xlii. 21, 24, li. 4, 7), and Zechariah refers to the *tōrā* as though it were identical with 'the words which Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth sent by His Spirit, by the hands of the former prophets' (Zech. vii. 12). Thus we may pass to notice the prophet as an organ by which Yahwe was pleased to make known His will to His people.

The Hebrew Prophet appears to have had his origin in the *diviner*. An editorial note in the narrative of 1 Sam. ix. 9 tells us that 'Beforetime in *Israel*, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he said, Come and let us go to the *Seer* (*rō'é*): for he that is now called a *Prophet* (*nābhī*) was beforetime called a *Seer*.'

The *Seer*, *rō'é* or *ḥōzé*, seems to have been a person exercising the faculty of *second sight*. He could give information upon such small matters as the whereabouts of strayed asses (1 Sam. ix. 6 ff.), or he could read the

future and predict whether a case of sickness was to result in recovery or death (1 Kings xiv. 1 ff., 2 Kings viii. 7 ff.). Usually he seems to have expected a small fee or present as a return for his information (1 Sam. ix. 7, 8; 1 Kings xiv. 2, 2 Kings viii. 8).

The faculty exercised by the Seer was regarded as derived from Yahwe. Saul's servant, in the narrative of 1 Sam. ix., speaks of Samuel as 'the man of God.' It also is clear that the answer given by the Seer was not obtained by mechanical means, as in the case of the priestly lot. Samuel without hesitation gives Saul the information which he requires, and adds the fact that Saul's father has ceased to think about the asses and has begun to feel anxiety about his son. In fact, the Seer is already aware of the stranger's coming, before his arrival. Yahwe has revealed it to him the day before (*vv.* 15 ff.), presumably in a *vision*, which is elsewhere named as the medium of Divine revelation (Num. xii. 6 E, Joel ii. 28, Job xxxiii. 15).

Thus it may be inferred that the seers obtained their information in part by second sight, in part by dreams.

The term rendered *Prophet*, *nābhī*, means the *caller* or *speaker*, and seems to have reference, in the first place, to the excited utterance of a man speaking in a state of ecstatic frenzy. The cognate verb (*hithnābbē*), which generally means 'to prophesy,' is used in 1 Sam. xviii. 10, of the *raving* of a madman. So also we find the contemptuous title 'this mad fellow' applied to a member of the prophetic school (2 Kings ix. 11 ; *cf.* Hos. ix. 7, Jer. xxix. 26.

It is suggested by 1 Sam. x. 5 that music was regularly employed as a means of producing the condition of ecstasy which resulted in prophecy. Elisha upon one occasion is unable at will to feel the Divine inspiration, but needs to summon the aid of the music of a harper (2 Kings iii. 15). The gift seems also to have been to some extent contagious. Association with prophets speaking in ecstasy might produce a similar condition in the hearer and spectator (1 Sam. x. 10, xix. 18 ff). Usually, however, the prophet appears to have been moved to speak apart from extraneous influence.

The prophetic impulse is described as 'the hand of Yahwe' or 'the spirit of Yahwe.' It comes upon the prophet with irresistible power, seizing him 'with strength of hand' (Isa. viii. 11; *cf.* Ezek. iii. 14), or 'rushing in upon' him (1 Sam. x. 6, 10).[1]

The phenomenon of prophecy, at first, it may be supposed, irregular and undisciplined, appears later on to have undergone some kind of training and organisation in prophetic guilds or schools. Such societies existed at Bethel (2 Kings ii. 3), Jericho (*vv.* 5, 15), Gilgal (2 Kings iv. 38), and probably elsewhere in the time of Elijah and Elisha, and were apparently in some sense presided over by these prophets (*cf.* 2 Kings ii. 15-18, iv. 1, 38 ff., vi. 1 ff., ix. 1). It is generally thought that the institution of this organisation is to be traced to Samuel. 1 Sam. xix. 20 speaks of his presiding over an assembly of prophets at Naioth. Bethel and Gilgal, above noticed, are included with Mizpah among the cities visited by him in his yearly round from his centre, Ramah (1 Sam. vii. 15-17). A member of a prophetic guild was known as 'a son of the prophets.' The application of this term is illustrated by the words of Amos to the priest of Bethel: 'I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son,' *i.e.* I had not the advantage of any special training for the calling (Amos vii. 14).

It is probably owing, in the main, to this training and regulation of their gift that the prophets, throughout the period of the monarchy, appear as the conservators of the pure religion of Yahwe. Thus the title *nābhī* gains the sense of *spokesman* or *announcer* (προφήτης), *i.e.* Yahwe's spokesman and the announcer of His will. The name, then, calls our attention to the main function of Hebrew prophecy. The *nābhī* is a preacher of Righteousness. He takes his stand upon the present, asserts, with all the rhetorical power of which

[1] Hebrew *ṣālah*, R.V. 'come mightily upon,' used of the Divine inspiration taking shape in action in the case of Samson (Judges xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14), Saul (1 Sam. xi. 6), and David (1 Sam. xvi. 13); and of an evil spirit from God (1 Sam. xviii. 10). The verb is applied to the rapid onslaught of fire in Amos v. 6.

he is the master, Yahwe's thought with regard to the religious and moral condition of His people, and passes the Divine sentence.

The call to speak cannot be stifled: 'The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord Yahwe hath spoken, who can but prophesy?' (Amos iii. 8). The prophet in himself is nothing; he may feel himself to be by nature slow of speech or of impure lips; but his lips have been touched by the hand of Yahwe or by fire from the heavenly altar, and he glows with superhuman eloquence (Jer. i. 6 ff., Isa. vi. 5 ff.; *cf.* Ex. iv. 10 ff. J).

The predictive element in prophecy, which is mainly regarded in the old title *Seer*, takes in this later title a subordinate position. It is never exercised as an end in itself, but always springs out of the prophet's moral teaching with regard to the present condition of his people, and takes the form of an announcement of coming judgment or deliverance, *conditional upon* their persistence in evil courses, or upon repentance and a renewed regard for Yahwe's covenant.

The constantly emphasised prediction by the writing prophets of the ultimate survival of a remnant of the nation purified by judgment, and a future age which shall realise the ideal relationship between Yahwe and His people, depends upon certain well-defined ideas which are worked out in detail, according to the inspired genius of each particular prophet. This Messianic prophecy is dealt with later (pp. 97 ff.).

# CHAPTER VI

## GOD'S RELATION TO THE WORLD AND TO ISRAEL IN THE PAST

THE subjects which are dealt with in the following chapters may be regarded as the outcome of a developed *Monotheism*, *i.e.* the belief that Yahwe, though pre-eminently and in a peculiar sense the God of Israel, is at the same time the one supreme Divine Being—the God of the whole earth. Chemosh and Milcom, Melḳart and Rammân are no longer viewed as hostile deities, eager to encroach upon Yahwe's little territory. Growing light shows them to be mere senseless idols, in no way comparable to the Maker and Sustainer of the world.

> 'For all the gods of the peoples are not-gods,
> But Yahwe made the heavens' (Ps. xcvi. 5).

**Development of Monotheism in the Eighth Century.**—The development of the monotheistic idea is to be associated with the activity of the writing prophets of the eighth century. When Amos (i., ii.) asserts that Yahwe has dealings with the surrounding nations, judging them by a moral standard and, as it were, placing them in line with his own people, Israel and Judah, he is asserting something which comes to his hearers as a new and strange revelation. The statement that just as Yahwe in time past brought up Israel out of Egypt, so did he also bring the Philistines from their ancestral home in Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir (chap. ix. 7), is a *fresh* fact, startlingly subversive of the old, easy-going conception of Yahwe's relationship to His people as national God. For

Yahwe's special care for the people of His choice implies, on Israel's part, special responsibilities. 'To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required.' Thus the keynote of the Book of Amos is Yahwe's message to Israel: 'You only have I known[1] of all the families of the earth: therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities' (chap. iii. 2).

Isaiah's monotheistic teaching depends intimately upon his conception of Yahwe as 'the Holy One of Israel' (*cf.* p. 75). Speaking of 'the day of Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth,' *i.e.* the day of His vengeance upon all that is repugnant to His holiness and majesty,[2] he tells His hearers that 'Yahwe alone shall be exalted in that day. And the idols shall utterly pass away' (Isa. ii. 17, 18). The Assyrian, though he knows it not, is merely a rod in Yahwe's hand for the execution of his vengeance upon the nations, and he, in turn, must suffer punishment for the haughty insolence with which he magnifies himself against Yahwe (Isa. x. 5 ff.).

If we seek along the historical horizon of the time for a reason why the monotheistic idea should have claimed prominence at just this stage in Israel's national life, our gaze must be arrested by the rapid progress of the Assyrian conquests. The spectacle of nations and their gods

[1] 'Known' may be better rendered 'taken notice of,' in the sense of a specially favourable regard. The verb is so used in Gen. xviii. 19 J (R.V.); Ex. ii. 25 P; Ps. i. 6, etc.

[2] 'The day of Yahwe' meant in old times the day on which He vindicates His power, as God of the hosts of Israel, by victory over Israel's foes. So, in Isa. ix. 4, we find the phrase 'the day of Midian,' referring to the victory narrated in Judges vi.-viii. Amos (v. 18 ff.) speaks of the morally lax and careless inhabitants of Samaria as desiring 'the day of Yahwe,' upon the view that Yahwe, as national God, cannot do otherwise than interpose in their interest against the foreign foe. And it is in Amos's hands that the expression first gains its new significance—the day on which Yahwe will vindicate His Righteousness against all that is opposed to it, amongst His own people as amongst the nations. Other occurrences of the 'day,' used in this sense as a day of judgment, are Isa. xiii. 6, 9; Zeph. i. 7, 14; Jer. xlvi. 10; Ezek. xiii. 5; xxx. 3; Ob. 15; Zech. xiv. 1; Mal. iv. 1, 4, 5; Joel i. 15; ii. 1, 11, 31; iii. 14.

one after another falling helpless before the conqueror's resistless power may well have influenced the moulding of prophetic thought both in Israel and Judah.[1] On the other hand, the reason why Isaiah should have anticipated and confidently predicted any other fate for the small kingdom of Judah than that which had befallen the surrounding nations can be explained as nothing else than the Divine intuition which belonged to him as Yahwe's prophet. And the brilliant fulfilment of his predictions in the sudden arrest of the Assyrian's progress before the gates of Jerusalem must have gone far to confirm in the popular mind the truth of his assertion that Yahwe, and He alone, is the God of the whole earth, who holds the fate of nations in His hand.

The influence of monotheism as a creed may be traced in the fact that Judah, with a century and more in which to assimilate the doctrine of her teachers, survives the Exile and emerges strengthened and purified in her religion; while Israel, upon whom the national catastrophe falls all too speedily, is absorbed and disappears to all intents among the races which surround her in captivity.

**Earlier Traces of Monotheistic Thought.**—But the fact that the latter half of the eighth century first witnessed a general movement in religious thought which was destined ultimately to take shape in the complete supersession of monolatry by monotheism, does not forbid that monotheism as an idea should have existed and been built upon in individual minds at a very much earlier date. The Hexateuch-document J, probably of the ninth century B.C. (*cf.* p. 2), assigns the creation of the universe to *Yahwe-Elōhīm* (Gen. ii. 4*b*-25); and the fact that such a conclusion contains, at least in the germ,

[1] Arpad fell B.C. 740, Hamath 739, Damascus 732, Samaria 722. In 720 the Egyptians, under Sabako, were defeated by Sargon at Raphia, and 711 witnessed the capture of Ashdod. Merodach-Baladan, the Babylonian patriot, was defeated by Sargon in 710 and again by Sennacherib in 703, Babylon being entered and reduced on both occasions. Sennacherib's fruitless siege of Jerusalem took place in 701.

the doctrine of a full monotheism cannot be overlooked.[1] In speaking, then, of the Old Testament doctrine of God's relationship to Israel and the world in the past, we may take the early narratives of Genesis as a whole, and need not consider it surprising that both earlier and later sources express such a view of creation and of the early history of mankind as is in fact intimately bound up with monotheistic belief.

**The Creation.**—The Hexateuch commences with a double narrative of the *Creation*, derived from the documents P and J.

P's account extends from Gen. i. 1 to ii. 4*a*, and is rounded off with the statement, 'These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created'; a mode of expression which may be compared with Gen. ii. 4, v. 1, vi. 9, x. 1, xi. 10, 27, xxv. 12, 19, xxxvi. 1, 9, xxxvii. 2; Num. iii. 1 (all P).

The narrative of J is contained in Gen. ii. 4*b*-25, commencing, 'In the day when *Yahwe-Elōhīm* made earth and heaven, no plant of the field as yet was in the earth, etc.' The transition from P's title *Elōhīm* to the title *Yahwe-Elōhīm* of J is very striking.

For a right apprehension of the value of the Hebrew Creation-narratives, two facts have to be noticed at the outset:—

1. The narratives of J and P do not strictly agree in matters of detail.

J pictures man as formed before the creation of animals, while woman is created out of man after the animals have appeared. P, on the other hand, assigns fishes, etc., and birds to the fifth day of creation, mammals and reptiles to the sixth day, while man (male and female) is subsequently created on the sixth day, as the culmination of God's work.

2. There is so close a resemblance between the Hebrew and Babylonian Creation-narratives that it may be regarded as certain that they cannot have been originally

[1] This inference remains untouched by the fact that the *compound* name *Yahwe-Elōhīm* may perhaps be no earlier than the final redaction of the Hexateuch. *Cf.* p. 25.

independent.[1] It is impossible to think that the Babylonian cosmogony is dependent upon the Hebrew, nor can it be supposed that the Hebrew cosmogony is based directly upon the grossly polytheistic Babylonian story, as it is known to us. Thus it may be assumed that the two cosmogonies are to be traced back to a primitive original, the common property of the Semitic family. And, this being the case, it is probable that the Creation-narrative in its primitive form was brought by the ancestors of the Hebrews from their home in Ur of the Chaldees, or that it came into Palestine with the Babylonian culture which we know from the Tell el Amarna tablets to have exercised a wide influence *cir.* B.C. 1500.[2]

Bearing these facts in mind, we may proceed to notice the *religious truths* which the writers of Gen. i. 1-ii. 4*a*, ii. 4*b*-25 were inspired to convey through their narratives of the Creation; truths of which the narratives themselves are merely the *setting*, fashioned according to the knowledge and literary ability of the writers. These truths may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. The fact is emphasised that all creation is dependent upon the one God. Before His *fiat* the universe is non-existent: heaven and earth are called into being by Him out of nothingness 'in the beginning,' *i.e.* at the commencement of time, which is the limit by which the range of human intellect is bounded. Before this 'beginning' it is simply assumed that God is, and thus that He is incomprehensible, eternal.

Here we have a very striking difference from the Babylonian narrative. In this latter *Mummu-tiâmat*,[3] *i.e.* the surging, watery deep, is pictured as before all things and as the mother of all, the gods themselves being evolved from her at intervals of long

[1] Upon the Babylonian narratives of the Creation and the Flood, and their relationship to the Hebrew narratives, *cf.* Ryle, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*; Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, chap. iii.; Wade, *The Book of Genesis*, chap. ii.; the articles 'Cosmogony' and 'Flood' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; Driver in *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 9-27; Driver, *The Book of Genesis*; Ball, *Light from the East*.

[2] *Cf.* Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el Amarna Letters*.

[3] *Tiâmat*=Hebrew *Tĕhôm*, 'the deep,' Gen. i. 2, *i.e.* primeval chaos.

ages. Creation is then regarded as the outcome of a war between the gods, in which the champion of the one party, Marduk, the principle of light, vanquishes and destroys Tiâmat, thus introducing order after chaos.

2. All things, as created by God, are repeatedly stated to have been 'good,' or 'very good' (Gen. i. 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31), *i.e.* they are intended and thoroughly adapted to subserve the Divine Will. There is no trace of an eternal principle of evil. Nothing mars God's plan; nothing is the outcome of a struggle between two principles, the good and the bad.

3. Man is the culmination of God's work. He is formed in the Divine Image, fitted for communion with God. He has it in his power, apparently, to partake of the tree of life and to live for ever (*cf.* ii. 16 with iii. 22), and it is only through a deliberate act of disobedience that he forfeits his high privilege.

**The Fall, and the Protevangelium.**—The narrative of the Fall and its sequel, Gen. iii, iv, belongs to J, in continuation of the story of Creation and Paradise, Gen. ii. 4*b*-25. Man, created in a state of innocent simplicity, sins through the rebellion of his free-will; conscious freedom of choice being the endowment which he enjoys as formed in the image of God. The temptation comes from without. It is the serpent, the emblem of wisdom or cunning, which suggests the act of disobedience. The incentive is the desire for higher knowledge; to be 'as God, knowing good and evil.'

No explanation is offered of the origin of evil as it appears in the serpent. The serpent itself is one of 'the beasts of the field which *Yahwe-Elōhīm* had made.' The idea of a personal Evil One (Satan), as developed in later thought, cannot definitely be said to be present in the narrative; but the abruptness with which the serpent is first introduced suggests that the original narrative of J may here have undergone considerable abbreviation, perhaps in order to eliminate a crude and mythological element in the story.[1] As Prof. Ryle notices, in later

[1] No clear and certain parallels to the Hebrew story of the Fall have been discovered in the Babylonian inscriptions, but the analogy of the Creation- and Flood-narratives points the inference that such must have originally existed.

literature 'it became generally accepted that the serpent, which was the medium of the Temptation in the story of the Fall, could have been no other than Satan, by which name the Evil Spirit was designated. Proof of this appears in such a passage as Wisdom ii. 24, and in the use of the appellation 'the old serpent, Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2.'[1]

Immediately upon the Fall there follow the passing and execution of the Divine sentence. Adam and Eve, already conscious that they are no longer fit for the society of God, are driven forth from Eden. Pain and toil become thenceforth associated with the perpetuation and maintenance of human life, and death, a return to the dust out of which man was taken, is decreed as its ending.

But the sentence is accompanied by a promise for the future of mankind. The curse pronounced upon the serpent ends with the statement, 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel' (iii. 15).

This passage has been rightly named the *Protevangelium*. It contains more than an explanation of the natural hostility always existing between man and the serpent. It is a promise that in the struggle of humanity with the spiritual power of evil, the seed of the woman shall ultimately triumph. The bruising of the heel implies that man will not come unscarred from the contest, but the bruising of the head means the destruction of the serpent—the final eradication of evil out of God's creation.

**God's working by Selection.**—From the Fall and onwards we trace the working of 'the purpose of God according to selection,'[2] with a view to the fulfilment of the Promise. This is seen in the choice of Abel and the rejection of Cain, in the birth of Seth to take the place of the murdered Abel, in the preservation of Noah and his family from destruction by the Flood, because he 'found grace in the eyes of Yahwe' (vi. 8).[3]

[1] *Early Narratives of Genesis*, pp. 56 f.

[2] ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ Θεοῦ, Rom. ix. 11.

[3] The narrative of the Flood is very strikingly paralleled in the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, *Tab.* xi. *Cf.* the authorities above cited for the Babylonian Creation-story.

The next stage is marked by the call of Abraham to be the father of the chosen people, and Yahwe's covenant with him and with Isaac and Jacob after him (*cf.* pp. 51 f.).

God's relationship to other nations in the past is not specially taken into account by Hebrew monotheism. Deut. iv. 19 states that Yahwe assigned the host of heaven, sun, moon, and stars, 'unto all the peoples under the whole heaven'; and the same idea is perhaps contained in the old 'Song of Moses' (Deut. xxxii.), if, with many scholars, we follow the reading of the Septuagint in *v.* 8 :—

'When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance,
When He separated the children of men,
He set the bounds of the peoples
According to the number of *the sons of God*.'[1]

The meaning thus is that the care of the nations was assigned by Yahwe to subordinate angelic beings belonging to the host of heaven (the *benê Elōhīm*; *cf.* pp. 14 f.). Contrast *v.* 9 :—

'For *Yahwe's* portion is His people;
Jacob is the lot of His inheritance.'

We learn from the story of the heathen seer Balaam (Num. xxii.-xxiv. JE) that the possibility of Yahwe Himself making revelations to a foreigner is not excluded, and this in some measure paves the way for the doctrine of a future religious universalism as developed by the prophets (*cf.* pp. 99 ff.).

[1] Septuagint κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ, in place of 'According to the number of *the children of Israel*,' implies merely a simple change in the original.

# CHAPTER VII

## GOD'S RELATION TO ISRAEL IN THE FUTURE, AND THROUGH ISRAEL TO THE WORLD AT LARGE

In the course of the preceding chapters we have noticed certain ideas as to the relationship between Yahwe and His people which from early times are prominently characteristic of the Religion of Israel.

It has appeared that the relationship is regarded as based upon a Covenant made with Israel's righteous ancestors, the founders of the nation, and containing a promise to their seed for ever. Such a Covenant, as contracted once for all with Abraham, the head of the race, does not depend upon the manner in which any particular generation of the children of Israel may fulfil the terms of their obligation. Failure, shortcoming, apostasy in this respect may, and indeed must, involve punishment even so severe as the final cutting off of individual members of the nation from the Covenant, their utter forfeiture of its privileges. And, again, these individuals may be so numerous as to embrace by far the larger portion of the nation at any particular time. By far the larger portion of the nation may fall away, be cut off, perish out of the Covenant-relationship.

That such a catastrophe, however, should extend to the nation *as a whole* is, under the terms of the Covenant, impossible. Yahwe cannot prove Himself untrue to the oath which He sware unto Abraham. His Righteousness and Faithfulness must stand for ever, and cannot be violated. Thus we shall find that even in the darkest days the prophets are able to speak of a Remnant of Israel for whom Yahwe's Covenant is to stand sure, a holy seed which is the true Israel, and, as such, repre-

sents the nation, indestructible and destined to survive and to emerge at last from its temporary misfortune.

We have seen, again, that special emphasis is laid upon Yahwe's covenant-promise to David, and, through him, to his house after him. The classical passage is 2 Sam. vii. 5-17, Yahwe's word unto David through the prophet Nathan. Verses 12-16 should especially be noticed:—'When thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build an house for My name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be My son: if he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men; but My mercy shall not depart from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee. And thine house and thy kingdom shall be made sure for ever before thee: thy throne shall be established for ever.' David, as it is said elsewhere, is always to have a *lamp* before Yahwe in Jerusalem (1 Kings xi. 36, xv. 4; 2 Kings viii. 19), the quenchless flame being emblematic of a never-failing posterity to sit upon his throne.

**The Messianic Expectation.**—These two ideas—the indestructibility of Israel as a nation, and of the Davidic dynasty—are taken up and developed in the light of the full monotheism which supersedes the monolatry of Israel during the latter part of the eighth century and onwards. Yahwe, the God of Israel, is also the God of the whole earth, the only God, who has made choice of Israel out of all the nations because He has set His love upon them.

We see thus how Israel's prospect for the future is capable of indefinite idealisation. After an impending purification in which the dross will be purged away, the gold refined, the nation can be pictured as emerging to take up the heritage of a glorious future, with the enjoyment of every blessing, both material and spiritual. The ideal limits of the land, such as they were in the days of Solomon, Israel's most prosperous monarch, are to be restored, and the nation is never to be without a ruler of the lineage of David, sitting upon his throne, the dispenser of righteous judgment.

And, when we further take into account Israel's conception of the nation as a *Theocracy*, in which the king holds his position as Yahwe's vicegerent, and is thus a sacred being whose person is inviolable, 'Yahwe's anointed' (p. 80), we can understand how the person of the future Davidic monarch can be ideally invested with attributes which are in fact divine, in such a way that only one who is both human and divine can be capable of realising the portrait.

Here we have, in short, a sketch of the lines upon which *the Messianic ideal* for the future is developed, principally in the earlier prophets and in many of the Psalms.

**Religious Universalism.**—Obviously, in such a picture, the relationship which *the nations* are to bear to Israel cannot be neglected. In so far as they represent the world-power, opposing itself to Yahwe and to His people, they must of course yield, their forces must be broken and destroyed. Then they will render obedience to Israel and become their vassals, just as the surrounding nations did in the days of David, only more fully and finally. But, as the prophetic outlook widens and gains in comprehensiveness, the nations also are assigned a share in the blessings of the Messianic age. They join themselves to Israel, place themselves under the protection of the chosen nation, not through compulsion, but because they realise the fact that Yahwe is the only God, and that Israel has been greatly blessed through Him.

This idea of the personal interest which the nations are to have in Israel's welfare appears already in J, 'In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed' (Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxviii. 14).[1]

Thus we can trace in the prophets the doctrine of a future religious universalism in which the nations are united to Israel by community in the highest of interests.

[1] In the two passages, Gen. xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, we must render 'By thee shall all the families of the earth *bless themselves*,' *i.e.* when they wish to invoke a special benediction they will formulate it as a desire to partake of the privileges of the seed of Abraham. This reflexive sense is possible, though not necessary, in the three passages given above in which the passive meaning is adopted.

This develops side by side with the Messianic ideal, and is of a piece with it.

The two ideas cannot, therefore, be properly dissociated, and may best be considered side by side.

After so much preface, we may notice the various features which different prophets contribute to the hope of the ideal future, and especially such passages as have reference to the *Messianic King*, His attributes, position, and work.

The picture drawn by **Amos**, the earliest of the writing prophets, is comparatively slight and indefinite (ix. 11-15). No mention is made of any special Messianic individual, but it is stated generally that 'in that day,' *i.e.* after the sifting of the nation through trial and misfortune, the tent of David that is fallen is to be raised up, and the breaches of it to be closed, that it may be restored to its former prosperity as the head of the reunited kingdom. Then the remnant of the nations, and especially of Edom, is to come under the hand of Israel as their vassals, and a time of ideal material prosperity is to ensue.[1]

**Hosea** makes a step in advance of Amos, for in him we find the earliest reference to a future Messianic ruler. 'Afterward,' he says, 'shall the children of Israel return, and seek Yahwe their God, and David their king' (iii. 5). By 'David' is implied not merely a prince of David's line, but one who realises the attributes of David as 'the man after God's own heart.' Hosea mentions the same features of material prosperity as does Amos (ii. 18, 21, 22), but lays his special emphasis upon the spiritual bond of union which is to exist between Yahwe and Israel, founded on Righteousness, Faithfulness, and Love (ii. 19, 20). No allusion is made to any sharing of *the nations* in Israel's blessed future, and the prophet is altogether silent as to their destiny.

**Micah**, who prophesied in the Southern Kingdom some twenty or thirty years later than Amos and Hosea in the kingdom of Ephraim, draws a far more highly developed

[1] Many critics regard Amos ix. 8-15 as a post-exilic appendix to the Book of Amos.

picture of the Messianic age (chaps. iv. v.). In the latter days, after Yahwe has visited His people for their sins, a bright future is to dawn. The mountain of Yahwe's house is to be established at the head of the mountains, and to be exalted above the hills. Many nations will flow unto it in order to learn the secret of Israel's prosperity, that they may become sharers in the blessings which Yahwe will shower upon His people. 'Come ye,' they will say, 'and let us go up to the mountain of Yahwe, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of Yahwe from Jerusalem.' Yahwe shall then act as arbiter between the nations; war shall be no more, the very weapons of war being changed into the peaceful implements of agriculture, such as are suited to the time of pastoral prosperity which is to ensue.

Especially, it should be noticed, is the ideal of the Theocracy to be realised. The afflicted remnant of Israel is to be gathered and made into a strong nation, and Yahwe Himself shall reign over them in Mount Zion from henceforth even for ever. An anointed monarch of David's line will sit upon the throne, his birthplace being Bethlehem, the town of David.

He is compared to a shepherd who stands and tends his flock in the strength of Yahwe, protecting Israel from their foe—the typical foe of the time, the Assyrian—and assuring peace and prosperity for evermore.

Micah ii. 12-13 is a short prophecy of restoration which should also be noticed. The passage has caused considerable difficulty, owing to the abruptness with which it is introduced. While it happens very frequently in the prophetic writings that we find a promise of restoration following immediately after a prediction of impending calamity, this passage stands alone in following strangely upon a denunciation of sin, where no reference has been made to the punishment which sin demands. Probably, therefore, the prophecy stands misplaced in its present context.

The remnant of Israel is to be gathered together to one centre, like sheep into a fold, in preparation for

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their return from exile. 'The breaker,' *i.e.* some particular leader, or more probably a detachment of the army whose duty it was to remove obstacles and to prepare a free way for the passage of the host, is pictured as already gone forth before them. Their king then leads them out upon their homeward journey, Yahwe himself being with him at their head.[1]

We pass now to Micah's great contemporary in the Southern Kingdom, the prophet Isaiah.

His characteristic doctrine of the indestructible *remnant* of Israel, which must survive calamity and emerge at last as a purified nation, appears first in chap. vi., the account of his call. Israel is compared to a terebinth or oak which, though felled to the root, yet contains life in the stock, ready to shoot forth and grow again to maturity. This stock is 'the holy seed' of Israel. The same idea is contained in the symbolic name of Isaiah's eldest son—*Shĕār-yāshūbh*, 'a remnant shall return' (vii. 3; *cf.* x. 21, 22).

Among Isaiah's prophecies of the Messianic age we notice first chap. ii. 2–4, which is identical with Mic. iv. 1-3, to which we have already referred. It is, of course, conceivable that both prophets may have borrowed from an earlier source. But it should be observed that the passage in Micah is of a piece with the context, and cannot be dispensed with, while in Isaiah this is not the case. Thus, unless it is supposed that Isaiah is using the words of Micah as the text of his discourse, it appears very possible that the passage has been borrowed from the Book of Micah by a later editor. At the close, however, of this same prophecy which has been thus headed with the words of Micah, we find an important reference to the ideal future which is to follow the judgment upon the sins of Jerusalem (chap. iv. 2-6). In that day the land is to enjoy exceptional fertility. 'The sprouting (*not* 'branch') of Yahwe,' parallel to the fruit, of the land,' describes the natural produce of the soil which is to be at the service of the restored remnant of Israel, purified as a holy people. Yahwe will

[1] For discussion as to the Jewish views of the meaning of 'the breaker,' *cf. Expositor*, April 1887, pp. 266 ff.

then dwell again upon Mount Zion, His presence being symbolised by a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night, overshadowing and protecting.

The Immanuel-prophecy (chap. vii. 1-ix. 7) may be regarded as the most important of Isaiah's Messianic utterances. Immanuel, the 'sign' which the prophet offers to Ahaz, appears to be an idealised Messianic Person who is to be the symbol and embodiment of the coming deliverance of Judah;—'God is with us.'

The Hebrew word which is used to describe Immanuel's mother (*'alma*) is a colourless term which can denote any young woman of marriageable age, without in itself stating whether she is single or married. Hence the word is better rendered 'maiden' or 'young woman' rather than 'virgin.' In the Hebrew the term stands with the definite article '*the* maiden' (*cf.* R.V. marg.), and a misunderstanding of an idiomatic usage seems to have been a prime cause of error in some current explanations of the passage.

The article is not used, as it might be employed in English, to mark out some one who is *generally known*, such as the queen of Ahaz (who would scarcely be described by the ambiguous term *'alma*), or the wife of Isaiah himself, who is elsewhere called 'the prophetess' (viii. 3), and who cannot be regarded as mother to the child who is afterwards pictured as the prince and possessor of the land. Still less can the article be thought to be generic;—'the maiden,' viz. maidens of suitable age *as a class*, any one of whom may name her son Immanuel in prospect of the near approaching exhibition of God's assistance.

Rather, the definite article is used in accordance with a common Hebrew idiom in which persons or objects are marked out and thus defined on account of the part which they play in the narrative. Immanuel's mother is '*the* maiden' simply as mother of her famous son—she who, as a matter of fact, shall have the honour of bearing the future Deliverer.[1]

[1] A few instances of this idiom may be cited by way of illustration:—1 Kings xiii. 14, 'And he went after the man of God, and

And the son Immanuel is a Messianic prince (naturally of David's line) whom the prophet pictures as arising in the (to him) near and foreshortened future.

His attributes (ix. 6) should be noticed. He is to be a *Wonder of a Counsellor, i.e.* one whose skill in administering the affairs of his kingdom presents a superhuman phenomenon. The word rendered 'wonder' (*péle*) is elsewhere always connected with the *Divine* sagacity. Again, he is named *God-mighty One,* mighty against his foes with the power of God. The same name is used of Yahwe Himself in chap. x. 21. Thirdly, he is *Everlasting Father* as the kindly father of his people, just as Job is termed 'a father to the poor' (Job xxix. 16), and Eliakim in his high position is to be 'a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem' (Isa. xxii. 21); *Everlasting* because he is associated in close relationship with Yahwe, and of the increase of his kingdom there is to be no end. And lastly, he is *Prince of peace* as inaugurating a period of prosperity unbroken by the terrors of war. *Cf.* Mic. v. 5 'And this man shall be Peace.'

Next, we have, in chap. xi. 1-10, of the time of Sennacherib's invasion, B.C. 701, a detailed picture of the Messianic King. He is of the stock of Jesse, endued with the spirit of Yahwe so as to be full of superhuman wisdom. His guiding principles are Righteousness and Faithfulness, exercised for the benefit of the poor and weak, and for the stern repression of evil-doers. Thus he opens an ideal age of universal peace, in which the earth is filled with the knowledge of Yahwe as the waters cover the sea.

One more reference to the Messianic King is to be noticed in the prophecies of Isaiah;—chap. xvi. 5, part of the prophecy against Moab:—'And a throne shall be

found him sitting under *the* terebinth,' which the writer's vivid imagination pictures as the tree under which, as a matter of fact, the prophet was sitting: 1 Kings xviii. 4, 'Obadiah took a hundred prophets and hid them by fifty in *the* cave,' marked out as thus affording an asylum: 1 Kings xix. 9, 'And he (Elijah) came thither into *the* cave, and lodged there':—*the* cave which was thereafter to be famous in story *as* the scene of Yahwe's Theophany to Elijah. *Cf.* Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 21 *e.*

established in mercy, and one shall sit thereon in truth, in the tent of David ; judging, and seeking judgment, and swift to do righteousness.'[1]

While Isaiah is thus the first to set forward a clear-cut representation of the ideal Messianic King, he is also the first to enunciate the doctrine of a future religious universalism in a broad and sympathetic spirit towards the nations. The races of the Gentiles may in the future seek Yahwe at Mount Zion, and seek Him not in vain. At the close of the Messianic prophecy, chap. xi. 1-10, which we have already noticed, it is stated that the root of Jesse shall stand 'for an ensign of the peoples,' and that 'unto Him shall the nations seek, and His resting-place shall be glory.' The word here rendered '*seek*' is one which is elsewhere used especially of prayer to Yahwe (*cf.* 2 Isa. lv. 6), and of the consulting of an oracle (Isa. viii. 19, xix. 3).

In Chap. xviii. 7, the Ethiopians are represented as sending a present to Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth at Mount Zion.

Chap. xxiii. 18 pictures the restored Tyre of the future as devoting the gains of her merchandise to Yahwe: 'And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to Yahwe ; it shall not be treasured or laid up, for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before Yahwe, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing.'

The greatest breadth of view, however, is reached by Isaiah in his prophecy upon Egypt (chap. xix.). After the calamities which are to befall Egypt for her sins, a remnant is to survive. Five cities or nome-principalities (*i.e.* relatively a very small number) will be found in the future speaking the language of Canaan and swearing by Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth. One of these, by a play upon the name *'ir ha-ḥéres*, 'city of the sun' (Heliopolis), is to be called *'ir ha-héres*, 'the city of destruction,' *i.e.* the city in which sun-worship is destroyed in favour of the religion of Yahwe. Yahwe is to be known in that day to Egypt, and they are to worship Him with sacrifice

[1] Chap. xv. 1-xvi. 12 may perhaps be an older prophecy incorporated by Isaiah. *Cf.* xvi. 13, 'This is the word that Yahwe spake concerning Moab *in time past*.'

and oblation, vowing vows to Him and performing them. And not only Egypt, but Assyria also, the other great power of the age, is to share in Yahwe's worship. 'In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria; and the Egyptians shall worship with the Assyrians.' 'In that day,' it is added, 'shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for that Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.'

Passing on, we may notice the small contribution to the picture of the ideal future which is given by Zephaniah, who prophesied in the early part of Josiah's reign. Zephaniah pictures a great judgment as about to fall both upon Israel and upon the nations. Afterwards Israel is to be restored and to exult in Yahwe, while of Yahwe, upon His part, it is said, 'He will rejoice over thee with joy, He will rest in His love, He will joy over thee with singing' (iii. 17). At that time Israel is to be a name and praise among all the nations of the earth (iii. 20). Of the nations also it is stated that after their chastisement they shall be converted to Yahwe, 'and men shall worship Him, every one from his place, even all the coast-lands of the nations' (ii. 11).

The figure of the Messianic King is absent from Zephaniah's prophecy.

Jeremiah, who lived through the troublous times which preceded the downfall of the kingdom of Judah, insists strongly upon the future restoration of a regenerate Israel under the government of an ideal Messianic ruler of the house of David. Yahwe is the true husband of His people, and calls them to forsake their whoredoms and to return to Him. He will take of them an elect remnant—'one of a city, and two of a family,' and will bring them again to Zion, where they shall be instructed by his true prophets, 'shepherds according to mine heart' (iii. 14, 15). That future age will be marked by the establishment of a new Covenant with Israel, of which the terms will be set upon their inward parts, written

upon their hearts. In that day all Israel shall know Yahwe, from the least to the greatest (xxxi. 31 ff.).

The description of the Messianic King of xxiii. 5-8 is duplicated and expanded in xxxiii. 14-26. He is spoken of as a righteous Sprout (*sémaḥ*) which Yahwe will cause to grow up unto David. His administration of his realm will be characterised by judgment and justice, and under him Israel will dwell in security. His name shall be 'Yahwe is our Righteousness,' this indicating that he is the embodiment of the Theocratic ideal, deriving his commission and the power to execute it from Yahwe as the Source of grace. In xxx. 8, 9 this ruler is spoken of by the name of David; Israel 'shall serve Yahwe their God and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them.' This passage appears to be a reminiscence of Hos. iii. 5, which we have already noticed.

As an instance of the universalistic idea in Jeremiah we may notice iii. 17: 'At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of Yahwe; and all the nations shall be gathered unto it, to the name of Yahwe, to Jerusalem: neither shall they walk any more after the stubbornness of their evil heart.'

Ezekiel, during the Exile, in the same way reiterates the promise: 'I Yahwe will be their God, and my servant David prince among them' (xxxiv. 24, xxxvii. 24, 25). This monarch is described as the shepherd who is to tend Yahwe's people. Jeremiah's proclamation of the new Covenant which is to be established is taken up and emphasised by Ezekiel. It is to be 'a covenant of peace,' 'an everlasting covenant' (xxxvii. 26). Yahwe will give His people a new heart, a new spirit, and will take away their stony heart (xxxvi. 26). He will sprinkle clean water upon them, and will cleanse them from their filthiness (xxxvi. 25). His tabernacle shall be in the midst of them for ever, and the fact that He is their God and they His people shall be known to all the nations (xxxvii. 27, 28). The idea of any participation by the nations in Israel's blessings is, however, foreign to Ezekiel's thought. His conception of Israel as a holy people, hedged round by ordinances for the maintenance of their peculiar

sanctity, does not, as it leaves his hands, allow scope for the admission of the Gentiles within the pale of Yahwe's covenant.

**Zechariah**, who prophesied soon after the return from exile, uses Jeremiah's expression, the 'Branch' or 'Sprout,' in speaking of the Messianic King (iii. 8-10, vi. 9-15). In the former passage the promise of the advent of this person is made to Joshua the high-priest, and it is stated that 'in that day' a time of ideal prosperity is to ensue: 'ye shall call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig tree.'

The meaning of the second passage (vi. 9-15) is very difficult. *As the text stands*, it seems that the coronation of Joshua the high-priest makes him typical of the coming Messiah, who is to unite in his single person the office of king and priest (*cf.* Ps. cx.). The coronation of Zerubbabel, as a prince of the house of David, might have appeared more natural, but, in consideration of his position as a satrap of the kingdom of Persia, such an action might have been interpreted as a proof of disaffection.

However, since *v.* 11 appears to make mention of 'crowns' rather than of a single crown, it has been suggested that the latter part of the verse should run, 'set them *upon the head of Zerubbabel and* upon the head of Joshua the son of Jehozadak the high-priest,' the words in italics having fallen out of the text. Verse 12 must then be emended, 'Speak unto *them*,' in place of 'Speak unto *him*.' This restoration suits the reference of *v.* 13, 'the counsel of peace shall be *between them both*.' On the other hand, *v.* 12, 'Behold the man whose name is the Branch,' seems to point very distinctly to one person only.

Thus Wellhausen [1] is probably correct in supposing that a single crown [2] is made by Zechariah for *Zerubbabel* as future king (this being implied by *v.* 12, without open statement of his name), and laid up for a memorial in the Temple of Yahwe. The words of *v.* 11 which refer to Joshua must then be regarded as a later insertion, made upon the view that the Priest rather than the King was head of the Theocracy. The statement of *v.* 13, 'And he shall be a priest upon his throne,' is emended. 'And *Joshua* shall

[1] *Die kleinen Propheten*, pp. 43, 178.

[2] The difference between the singular and plural in the Hebrew is a difference of vowel-points merely.

be priest upon *his right hand*,' the following reference, 'And the counsel of peace shall be between them both,' being thus made clear. Such a reconstruction of the text is of course uncertain, but has the merit of satisfactorily meeting the difficulties of the passage.

Zech. viii. 20-23, probably the close of the authentic prophecies of Zechariah, is important as bearing upon the religious future of the nations. 'The inhabitants of many cities,' 'many peoples and strong nations,' are to come voluntarily to Jerusalem 'to entreat the favour of Yahwe and to seek Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth.' The passage closes with the striking statement, 'In those days ten men shall take hold, out of all the languages of the nations, shall even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that Yahwe is with you.'

It is generally agreed that chaps. ix.-xiv. of Zechariah are distinct from chaps. i.-viii., and not the work of the same prophet. Opinion is, however, much divided as to their date. There are certain indications which make for a pre-exilic date—the eighth century; but, on the other hand, other references go to favour a post-exilic date. The latter is perhaps the more probable, though it is impossible to speak with certainty.

Chap. ix. 9, 10 pictures the advent of the Messianic King. He is represented as 'righteous and victorious; lowly and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass.' He appears, therefore, after the conquest of his foes, to be ushering in a period of peace during which he will exercise that equitable administration of his kingdom which, as we have noticed, is emphasised by Jeremiah. The fact that he is spoken of as 'lowly' perhaps indicates that with the figure of the King Messiah there is combined that of the suffering Servant of Yahwe which we have yet to notice.

This prophecy, like chaps. i.-viii., concludes with a reference to the nations. Such a remnant as shall survive out of 'all the nations' is in the future to come up to Jerusalem to keep the feast of Tabernacles, special reference being made to 'the family of Egypt' (xiv. 16 ff.).

In the prophecy of Haggai, Zechariah's contemporary,

we have to refer to one passage which speaks of the Messianic future — chap. ii. 6-9. Haggai predicts that the glory of the second Temple is to be greater than that of the Temple of Solomon, because that shortly Yahwe will shake all nations, and the desirable things of all nations shall come to beautify Yahwe's house, that it may be filled with glory. This passage, though certainly Messianic in intent, contains no distinct reference to a Messianic *individual*, such as might be gathered from the rendering of A.V., 'The desire of all nations shall come.' The word rendered *desire* is a singular collective joined to a plural verb. Thus the rendering of R.V. *desirable things* is certainly correct, rather than that of A.V. Yahwe's promise for the future is, however, made sure to Zerubbabel as the princely representative of David's line. When Yahwe shakes heaven and earth, casting down the kingdoms of the nations with their armies, He will extend His peculiar protection to the house of David. 'In that day, saith Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith Yahwe, and I will make thee as a signet: for I have chosen thee, saith Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth' (ii. 20-23).

The Book of **Malachi**, written during the Persian period, contains a prophecy of impending judgment upon the Judæans for their moral and religious laxity. The priests especially are blamed for their remissness in carrying out the Temple worship, and because they allow unworthy sacrifices to be offered upon Yahwe's altar (i. 6 ff.). In contrast, the religious earnestness of the Gentile nations is cited as a truer worship of Yahwe: 'For from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same My name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto My name, and a pure offering: for My name is great among the Gentiles, saith Yahwe Ṣebhā'ōth' (i. 11). A day of judgment is therefore impending, when Yahwe Himself will come to His Temple in the person of the Angel of the Covenant. He shall judge between the righteous and the wicked, purging away the dross from the silver, so that thereafter the purified nation may offer unto Yahwe offerings in Righteousness (iii. 1 ff.).

Passing to the apocalyptic Book of Daniel, we notice briefly the writer's reference to the Messianic kingdom. In chap. ii. the four kingdoms symbolised by the image are probably the Chaldean, the Median, the Persian, and the Macedonian. The 'stone cut without hands' (*v.* 34), which smites and destroys the image, is, as interpreted in *vv.* 44, 45, the Messianic kingdom which is to supersede all these kingdoms, and to stand for ever.

In chap. vii. 13, 14, the reference to 'one like unto a son of man' who receives from God 'the Ancient of days' an endless dominion over all peoples, nations, and languages, probably denotes the kingdom of the Saints (*cf. vv.* 18, 22) rather than a definite Messianic individual, there being no such reference elsewhere in the book.[1]

Before leaving the subject of the Messianic King, we ought to notice certain Psalms which refer to a *king* in language which is usually interpreted as Messianic.

The chief of these are Pss. ii., xxi., xlv., lxxii., cx. It should be observed that these psalms (with the possible exception of lxxii.) differ from the prophecies which we have been reviewing, in referring, not to a *future* ruler, but to a reigning monarch who, as Yahwe's anointed, is idealised and in some cases invested with attributes which are little short of divine. These psalms may be considered as Messianic in so far as they put forward the true ideal of kingship, clothing the monarch with the same attributes as the prophets assign to the Messianic King, and picturing him as true to the Theocratic conception of Yahwe's representative upon earth.

Ps. lxxii. may be different, and is perhaps better explained, not as referring to any particular king, but as painting a portrait of the future Messiah and his kingdom, and embodying a prayer for the speedy dawning of the ideal age. The lines along which the picture of the material blessings of the kingdom is developed are suggested by the recollection of Solomon's prosperous reign, which was regarded as the golden age of Israel's greatness.

Religious universalism appears in its most developed

[1] *Cf.* Bevan, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 118 f.

form in Pss. xlvii. and lxxxvii. Ps. xlvii. 9 may be compared with cii. 22, but it is nearly unique in picturing the nobles of the people as 'gathered together *as* the people of the God of Abraham.'[1] In Ps. lxxxvii. various nations, Egypt,[2] Babylon, Philistia, Tyre, and Ethiopia, are cited as owning Yahwe as their God, and as registered in the roll of the commonwealth of Zion.

**Yahwe's ideal Servant.**—It will have been noticed that, in dealing with the contributions of the prophets to the picture of the Messianic future, no account has been taken of the great group of prophecies, **2 Isa. 40-66.** The reason is that in these chapters the figure of the Messianic *King* is absent, his place being occupied by a new figure, the *suffering* Messiah, the ideal *Servant of Yahwe*.

The title 'Servant' of Yahwe is not altogether a new one. It is applied to many of the great figures of Israel's history who are pictured as living in an intimate relationship to Yahwe—Abraham (Gen. xxvi. 24 J), Moses (Num. xii. 7 JE; Deut. xxxiv. 5; Josh. i. 1, 13, 15 $D^2$, etc.), Joshua (Judges ii. 8), David (2 Sam. vii. 8; 2 Kings xi. 38, etc.), Isaiah (Isa. xx. 3), etc. Especially is the title used of *the prophets as a body*, as intrusted by Yahwe with *a special mission* (*cf.* 2 Kings ix. 7, xvii. 13, 23, xxi. 10, xxiv. 2; Amos iii. 7; Jer. vii. 25, xxv. 4, xxvi. 5, xxix. 19, xxxv. 15, xliv. 4; Ezek. xxxviii. 17; Zech. i. vi.). But as the prophets are singled out from the mass of Israel as the medium of Yahwe's special revelation, so has Israel as a whole been singled out from the other nations of the world. Thus in the 'Song of Moses' we find the title 'His servants' applied generally, from this point of view, to the members of the chosen nation (Deut. xxxii. 36, 43); while the singular,

[1] *Cf.* Isa. xix. 25 (already noticed), where Egypt receives from Yahwe the title 'My people.' Many scholars, however, read '*with* the people,' etc., supposing that 'with' (עִם, *'im*) has fallen out of the text through similarity to the following word (עַם, *'am*=people). The Septuagint read *'im* in place of *'am*; '*with* the God of Abraham.'

[2] Mentioned under the poetical title *Rahab, i.e.* 'Arrogance. *Cf.* Ps. lxxxix. 10; Isa. xxx. 7; 2 Isa. li. 9.

'My Servant,' is used of the nation as a whole by Jer. xxx. 10, xlvi. 27, and Ezek. xxviii. 25, xxxvii. 25.

In 2 Isa. xli. 8, 9; xliii. 10; xliv. 1, 2, 21; xlv. 4; xlviii. 20, the title 'My Servant' is applied to *the nation of Israel at large*, as 'chosen' by Yahwe. The bulk of the nation, however, is untrue to its vocation, blind and deaf to Yahwe's call: 'Who is blind, but My Servant? or deaf, as My messenger that I send? Who is blind as the devoted one,[1] and blind as the Servant of Yahwe?' (2 Isa. xlii. 18, 19). We find, therefore, a narrowed use of the term to denote *the Israel within Israel*, the faithful worshippers of Yahwe upon whom the hope of the nation for the future must be centred. This true Israel is idealised by the prophet as *an individual*—the servant of Yahwe. The passages which should specially be noticed are xlii. 1-7; xlix. 1 ff.; l. 4 ff.; lii. 13-liii. 12.

The ideal Servant is endowed with the spirit of Yahwe (xlii. 1). He is the representative of the new Covenant between Yahwe and His people, of which Jeremiah has already spoken (xlii. 6). It is his mission 'to preach good tidings to the meek, . . . to bind up the broken-hearted,' encouraging the depressed exiles by the promise of forgiveness and near approaching release, 'the acceptable year of Yahwe' (lxi. 1-3; *cf.* xl. 1, 2). Thus he is 'to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel' (xlix. 5, 6). The gentle tenderness with which he fulfils his charge is especially noticeable. As the trained disciple of Yahwe he understands how 'to sustain the weary with a word' (l. 4); 'a bruised reed shall he not break, and a dimly burning wick shall he not quench' (xlii. 3).

But his mission is not confined to his own nation. As it opens out before him, he realises that it is world-wide in scope. Yahwe's promise is, 'I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that My salvation may be unto the ends of the earth' (xlix. 6; *cf.* xlii. 6 *b*). He is to 'bring forth judgment (*i.e.* religion; *cf.* Jer. v. 4, 5) to the Gentiles,' and 'the isles shall wait for his instruction' (xlii. 1, 4).

Such a work, however, as is committed to him can

[1] *Devoted* or *surrendered* to Yahwe. The Hebrew *meshullam* (perhaps rather *mushlam*) corresponds to the Arabic *muslim* (Moslem).

only be accomplished through much suffering. His contemporaries fail to understand his steadfast purpose; he is greeted, not with enthusiasm, but with scorn and loathing. None like him has ever understood what sorrow means; for he is the prototype of Him Who 'came unto His own, and His own received Him not.' He experiences to the full the sharp pain of isolation, the agony caused by misinterpretation of the active sympathy which he has to proffer (liii. 3 ff.). Yet, in spite of all, he still persists. In the teeth of active persecution he sets his face like a flint, for the Lord Yahwe is his Helper, and he *knows* that he shall not be put to shame (l. 5-9). Finally, in the pursuit of his aims, he voluntarily suffers a cruel death, allowing himself to be numbered with transgressors, and undergoing the death and burial of the worst of felons (liii. 7-9).[1]

But it is through death that the purpose of his life is worked out. His death is a guilt-offering (*āshām*, liii. 10). His sufferings are vicarious; Yahwe has been pleased to smite him in order that his blood may become the seed of a renewed community. Thus he is said to see his seed and to prolong his days, whilst the pleasure of Yahwe prospers in his hand; he gazes with satisfaction upon his labours, knowing that, through his uttermost self-surrender, Yahwe's purpose has been accomplished to the full (liii. 10-12).

The question has often been raised whether the prophet, in the passages in which he speaks of the sufferings and death of the Servant, is basing the outlines of his picture upon any definite historical person, such, for example, as Jeremiah, or is merely continuing his description of the mission of the idealised Personality, who, as is clear from xlix. 3, represents the true Israel as a body. This question, though of great historical interest, is of comparative unimportance for the interpretation of the prophecies. In either case the Servant

[1] The text of liii. 9*a* ought probably to run:—

'And they made his grave with the wicked,
And with the violent (*or* with evil-doers) his sepulchral mound.'

is the Representative of the nation, passing through suffering to the fulfilment of his mission; and in either case it is certain that the figure which the inspired genius of the prophet has handed down to us was only realised in all particulars in the Person of our Lord.[1]

**The representative Sufferer of the Psalms.**—Although no perfect analogy for the figure of Yahwe's suffering Servant exists in the Old Testament literature outside of 2 Isaiah xl.-lxvi., yet the partial analogy offered by some of the Psalms must not be passed over unnoticed. In many Psalms the poet speaks *as representative of a class.* He is one of 'the meek,' 'the afflicted,' 'the righteous,' or 'the saints.' Thus his experiences of suffering endured in the cause of true religion, and the wonderful deliverances vouchsafed him by Yahwe, have a value which extends beyond himself. He can commend them to others who may find themselves in like position, exhorting them to rejoice with him and to gain encouragement from the spectacle of Yahwe's never-failing care for those who take refuge in Him. In illustration we may notice Ps. xxii. 22 ff., xxvii. 14, xxx. 4 ff., xxxi. 23 f., xxxii. 10 f., xxxiv. xxxv. 27, etc.

**Last Words on Universalism—Jonah.**—We have seen how the Servant of Yahwe has a mission which extends beyond Israel to the world at large (p. 113). This idea of the share of the nations in Israel's future, borrowed no doubt from earlier prophets, is not confined to the sections of 2 Isa. xl.-lxvi. which deal specially with the Servant, but runs throughout the prophecy as a whole, and attains a height and breadth of conception unequalled elsewhere in the Old Testament. The world is pictured as '*expectant*: no sooner does it hear the message of truth than it at once recognises in it the salvation for which it had more or less consciously yearned (xlii. 4 *b*, li. 5 *b*). In the approaching restoration of his nation the prophet sees a great evidential act enacted in the eyes of the world (xl. 5, lii. 10), and adapted in the end to create a revolution in the religious feelings of mankind (xlv. 6). God's purposes of salvation

[1] *Cf.* especially George A. Smith, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. ii. chap. xvi.

embrace the entire earth. "Unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue swear" (xlv. 23); "I will make my judgment (*i.e.* my religion) to rest for a light of the peoples" (li. 4); "Mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (lvi. 7) · week by week, month by month, "all flesh will come to worship before Jehovah at Jerusalem" (lxvi. 23).'[1]

We have noticed, on the other hand, how Ezekiel's conception of Israel was that of a holy nation, separated from the world by a body of enactments calculated to preserve its peculiar sanctity (p. 107; *cf.* p. 76). This conception, as worked out in detail in the legislation of the priestly code, came to form a counter-tendency to the liberal universalism of the prophets.

After the Exile it was this counter-tendency which prevailed. Post-exilic Judaism became narrower and more self-centred; the gap between Israel and the nations grew wider and more impassable; the commission of Yahwe's Servant to be 'a light to the Gentiles' was well-nigh if not totally forgotten.

But such a lapse from the prophetic ideal could not be suffered to take place entirely without a protest; and it is such a protest which is preserved for us in the Book of Jonah.

That the prophet Jonah, the son of Amittai, was an historical person appears from the allusion in 2 Kings xiv. 25. We may also assume that the fact of the prophet's preaching against the wickedness of the Assyrian capital Nineveh rests upon an historical foundation. But it is clear that the writer uses the facts as the basis of an *allegory*, framed to point the special truth which he desires to emphasise.

In Jer. li. 34 we read the complaint, 'Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured us, he hath discomfited us, he hath made us an empty vessel, *he hath swallowed us up like a sea-monster*, he hath filled his belly with my delicates; he hath cast us out.' This simile, as used by Jeremiah, may have been in the mind of the writer of the Book of Jonah as he framed his story; at

[1] Driver, *Isaiah: his Life and Times*, p. 174.

any rate it furnishes a clue which aids us in arriving at the inner meaning of the allegory.

Jonah represents *Israel as a nation*, charged with a mission to *the heathen-world*, which is aptly symbolised by the great world-power, Assyria. This mission he deliberately evades by taking ship from Joppa to Tartessus; thus making the extreme west his destination, when he has been appointed to the far east. His plans, however, are frustrated by Yahwe, who raises such a storm that the ship is in danger of destruction. In the storm-scene the piety of the heathen sailors and their humanity seem to be intentionally brought into contrast with the apathy of Yahwe's prophet (i. 5, 6, 13, 14).

When Jonah has been cast into the sea, he is swallowed up by a great fish specially prepared by Yahwe, and, upon his liberation at Yahwe's command from the fish's belly, he receives a second commission to go and preach to Nineveh. *Israel, unmindful of his mission to the nations, is delivered over to the power of Babylon; and the release from exile is accompanied by a second commission to act as Yahwe's Prophet to the world at large.*

This time the summons is obeyed; Jonah's preaching meets with unexampled success, and, the whole population of Nineveh exhibiting practical proof of repentance, Yahwe's sentence is thereupon annulled.

But this issue is displeasing to Jonah. He is willing to act as Yahwe's instrument in hurling His threats of vengeance against the sinful Ninevites; he will not be the witness of the divine mercy which spares and pardons. The writer leaves him, still morose and self-centred, apparently untouched by Yahwe's last appeal.

And it is this appeal (iv. 11) which is made by the Book of Jonah as a contribution to the great prophetic doctrine of religious universalism against the narrow particularism of the post-exilic age.[1]

[1] It is possible that the Book of Ruth may have been written about the same time as the Book of Jonah, and from a similar liberal standpoint, as a protest against the measures enforced by Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra, chaps. ix. x.; Neh. xiii. 23 ff.) with regard to the mixed marriages. The writer draws attention to the historical fact that King David himself derived his descent

from such a mixed union. The piety of the Moabitess Ruth is finely illustrated (i. 16-18). When her son is born, she is compared to Rachel and Leah, 'which two did build the house of Israel,' and she is declared to be better to Naomi her mother-in-law 'than seven sons' (iv. 11, 15). The case of Tamar, another foreign woman who was an ancestress of David, is also expressly cited (iv. 12). *Cf.* Hunter, *After the Exile*, ii. chap. 3.

## CHAPTER VIII

### GOD'S RELATION TO THE INDIVIDUAL, FOR THE PRESENT AND FOR THE FUTURE

THE scope of the present chapter must, for the sake of brevity, be limited to two subjects—*the problem of Suffering, and the hope of a Future Life.* These two subjects, as developed in the Old Testament, are closely interrelated, and may therefore be most suitably treated side by side. We shall assign the greater prominence to the doctrine of a future life, only making such reference to the problem of the suffering of the righteous as is necessary to explain the passages which we shall have to notice, as having a bearing upon the former subject.

Speaking generally, it may be said that the Old Testament contains no full doctrine of immortality. When S. Paul says (2 Tim. i. 10) that Christ Jesus 'abolished death and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel,' this is true, not only in the sense that our Saviour procured for man the heritage of an endless life, but also inasmuch as He was the first to set forward a full and undimmed doctrine of immortality.

What we do find in the Old Testament are faint foreshadowings of the doctrine which grow with the advance of time, and point forward to the fulfilment of the hope. Our task is to gather together the passages which have a bearing upon this subject, and to estimate, as far as may be, the extent of their meaning.

It should be noticed that the subject of investigation is the thought of a future life *as it presented itself to the Old Testament writers themselves.* We are not here concerned with the further meaning which passages of the Old

Testament may be found to bear when read in the light of the New Testament Revelation. For example, our Lord (S. Matt. xxii. 31, 32) teaches that God's revelation of Himself to Moses at Horeb as 'the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' contained by implication the doctrine of a future life, since 'God is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living.' This is true because it belongs to the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures that they are capable of containing a fund of further meaning beyond that which is primary and which lies upon the surface. But what we have now to notice is the primary meaning. We want to understand what the Old Testament writers *themselves thought* about the state after death, rather than the fuller application which their words may contain when brought into relation to the higher teaching of the New Testament.

**Foreshadowings of a Hope of Immortality.**—There are a certain number of references in the Old Testament writings, and some of them of a comparatively early date, which contain potentially the rudiments of a doctrine of immortality.

For example, we have in Gen. iii. 22 (J) the mention of the tree of life which grew in Eden, whereof if our first parents had eaten, they might have lived for ever. Again, we have the stories of the translation of Enoch (Gen. v. 24 P) and of Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11), where it is assumed that in individual cases human men rose superior to the power of death. Possibly also we may add such a passage as Ps. xxi. 4, where it is said of the king who forms the subject of the Psalm,

> 'He asked life of Thee; Thou gavest it him,
> Even length of days for ever and ever.'

This of course may contain, in the first place, nothing more than the assertion of a long life or lasting posterity for the monarch. But, on the other hand, it is quite conceivable that the poet has in view a special immortality which was thought to be in store for worthy kings, just as in a Babylonian inscription we have mention of 'the land of the silver sky' in a similar connection.[1]

[1] *Cf.* Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*, *ad loc.*

**General View of the State after Death.**—Such a notion, however, was certainly not applied from the particular to the general. The general outlook in regard to the life after death was hopeless and dreary in the extreme. Not indeed that death was regarded as annihilation, the end of all existence of the soul. But it was regarded as the end of all *active* existence, the entry into a state devoid of hope, or joy, or interest, alike for good and bad. Death was 'the house of appointed meeting for all living' (Job xxx. 23). Just as when the fool says of God that 'He is not' (Ps. xiv. 1, liii. 1), thereby denying, not His actual existence, but His active interest in human affairs, so it can be said of a dead man that 'he is not' (Gen. xlii. 13, 36 E), the implication being that he has ceased to have interest or to concern himself in all matters which are of moment to the living. The very term used to describe the dead, *Rephā'îm* (2 Isa. xiv. 9, xxvi. 14, 19; Ps. lxxxviii. 10; Prov. ii. 18, ix. 18, xxi. 16), denotes the flaccid, feeble semblances of their former selves, and is most aptly rendered 'shades.'

Thus, in the song of Hezekiah, which deals with his recovery from mortal sickness, it is said—

> 'For Shĕ'ôl[1] cannot praise Thee, death cannot celebrate Thee:
> They that go down into the pit cannot hope for Thy truth.
> The living, the living, he shall praise Thee as I do this day.'
> (Isa. xxxviii. 18, 19.)

Death, indeed, is regarded as an utter separation from Yahwe, and this idea is the most terrible one which can afflict the righteous man.

One poet says (Ps. vi. 5)—

> 'For in death there is no remembrance of Thee;
> In Shĕ'ôl who shall give Thee thanks?'

Another (Ps. lxxxviii. 5) speaks of himself, in his deep despair, as

> 'Cast off among the dead,
> Like the slain that lie in the grave,
> Whom Thou rememberest no more;
> And they are cut off from Thy hand.'

[1] *Shĕ'ôl* is the Hebrew title for the Underworld. The etymology and meaning of the term are unknown.

The latest, and most gloomy, summary of this view of the future state is to be found in Eccles. ix. 3 ff. : 'This is an evil in all that is done under the sun, that there is one event unto all. . . . For to him that is joined with all the living there is hope: for a living dog is better than a dead lion. For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. As well their love, as their hatred and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun.' And then the writer finishes his exhortation to his readers to make the most of the present life with the words: 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in Shĕ'ôl, whither thou goest.'

**The Problem of Suffering.**—It seems to have been in view of the moral difficulty involved in the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked, which was observed so frequently to be the rule in this earthly life, that the first ray of light began to penetrate the darkness in the form of a hope for some brighter future in store for Yahwe's true servants beyond the grave. The old idea that prosperity was a mark of Yahwe's favour, and adversity, especially if sudden and overwhelming, a mark of His displeasure, appears to have been found satisfactory enough during the prosperous days of the monarchy, when men lived, upon the whole, happy and comfortable lives, or, at any rate, no very glaring and general discrepancy between fact and theory seemed to call for immediate solution. But the period of decadence which preceded the fall of the kingdom of Judah was marked by grave social abuses and growing indifference to the spirit of Yahwe's religion, coupled with a bare formalism or the definite introduction of foreign cults. Upright and pious men formed a despised, if not a persecuted minority; justice and virtue seemed to bring, not success, but loss and failure in their train.

And during the Babylonian exile this condition of things appears to have been rather accentuated than diminished. The bulk of the people accommodated

itself very easily to its new circumstances, and adopted to a great extent the customs of the nation in the midst of which it was placed. Those who clung to the faith of Israel, and, keeping steadfastly in view the possibility of a restoration, made it their aim to preserve their individuality as a nation and as a religious community, were but the few among the many — an insignificant party exciting generally the scorn and hatred of their fellows. Yahwe's Servant, spoken of in 2 Isaiah as the object of shame and spitting, as misunderstood, oppressed, and even done to death on account of the attitude which he adopted, represents in the first instance this righteous nucleus of the nation, and sets forward, doubtless, a true picture of the hardships which it was forced to undergo (pp. 112 ff.).

Nor was the return from Babylon by any means a restoration of happy and prosperous times for this faithful remnant. Though those who availed themselves of the decree of Cyrus belonged, in the main, to the body who held by the hope of Israel, and were, as a whole, animated by a common aim, yet the hardships to be contended with were enormous: weakness and poverty from within, oppression and opposition from without, raised up a series of difficulties which nothing but the untiring energy and faith of the more patriotic spirits were able to surmount. It was in times such as these that men turned to review their ancient position with regard to the question of temporal prosperity and adversity. Righteousness certainly no longer appeared uniformly to bring its reward, nor wickedness its due punishment. The problem was one full of perplexity for pious minds. We find Jeremiah, in the closing days of the monarchy, giving voice to bitter expostulation: 'Righteous art Thou, Yahwe, when I plead with Thee; yet would I reason the cause with Thee: Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are they all at ease that deal very treacherously? Thou hast planted them, yea, they bring forth fruit: Thou art near in their mouth, and far from their reins' (xii. 1, 2). It is the same subject, again, which troubles the author of Ps. lxxiii., and which calls forth the careful and detailed treatment of

the book of Job, probably a work of the period of the Exile.

In the Book of Job, Job represents the righteous man weighed down by extraordinary misfortunes, which are due to no flagrant act of sin of which he has been guilty. Job is sure of his innocence upon such a score, and unhesitatingly asserts it in face of the accusations of his three friends, who, as representatives of the old view that suffering necessarily proceeds from sin, use their best arguments to bring conviction to the sufferer.

There are three cycles of speeches; but in the third, the speech of Bildad the Shuhite (chap. xxv.) is extremely short, and Zophar the Naamathite fails to speak at all. This arrangement seems to be intended to indicate that the friends have exhausted their arguments.

The section, chaps. xxxii.-xxxvii., in which a fourth speaker, Elihu, not mentioned in the prologue or epilogue, comes forward, is probably a later addition to the book.

The main conclusion of the writer comes out in chaps. xxxviii.-xli., where Yahwe intervenes and addresses Job out of the whirlwind. It is found in the comprehensiveness of God's dealings with the world, the infinitude of His resource. Nothing is hid from Him, nor can be conceived as lying outside of His power; and therefore man may not think himself to lie outside of the range of God's dealings, even though these dealings are mysterious and pass his understanding.

A second solution which is offered of the problem of suffering—emerging from the general conception of Job as a suffering righteous man who, though nearly falling under the weight of his trials, yet does in fact maintain his belief in God's providence, and at length rises to a higher level of faith—is that suffering may be permitted by God, not as a punishment for sin, but as a discipline by which character is strengthened and refined.

As a third solution—and one which principally concerns us here—the possibility of a future life is put forward very tentatively, but only to be immediately passed by, as scarcely within the range of credibility.

It is Job who speaks, addressing Yahwe (xiv. 13-15):—

'Oh that thou wouldest hide me in Shĕ'ōl,
That thou wouldest keep me secret, until thy wrath be past,
That thou wouldest appoint me a set time, and remember me!
If a man die, shall he live again?
All the days of my warfare would I wait,
Till my relief should come.
Thou shouldest call, and I would answer thee:
Thou wouldest have a desire to the work of thy hands.'

In *v.* 14 the figure is that of a soldier at his post, looking to the time when he shall be relieved from his hard service. And in the following verse Job dwells longingly upon the joy with which, if it could indeed be anticipated, he would look forward to the sound of Yahwe's voice calling him to a renewed state of fellowship with Him.

**Job xix. 25-27.**—We cannot leave the Book of Job without referring to its best-known passage—a passage which certainly embodies the hope of a future life in some sense, though perhaps not precisely as it is generally understood.

Job in his misery has appealed to his friends for pity; but they are relentless (xix. 21, 22). They cannot abandon their principles, which compel them to regard Job as a sinner and unrepentant. Then the sufferer turns his mind to the generations yet to come, and expresses the desire that his passionate protestation of innocence might be indelibly graven in the rock, that all might read (*vv.* 23, 24). But here his thoughts linger but for an instant: suddenly the conviction comes home to him that there is One who must ultimately vindicate his innocence in face of the world, and that of this vindication he shall in some way gain the comfortable assurance, in spite of the near impending dissolution of his earthly frame.

The passage (*vv.* 25-27) may be best thus translated:—

'But I—I know that my Vindicator liveth,
And in aftertime shall take His stand upon the dust;
And after my skin, which has been thus struck off,
Even without my flesh shall I see God:
Whom I shall see for myself,
And my eyes shall behold, and not a stranger,
—My reins are consumed within me!'

The word here rendered *Vindicator* is in Hebrew *Gō'ēl*, properly a man's nearest blood-relation, upon whom the obligation lay to avenge his death, if he had been unjustly slain. Job pictures God as such a *Gō'ēl*, who will surely clear him of the imputation of guilt which has been unjustly fastened upon him. The rendering *Redeemer* is less suitable than *Vindicator*, as suggesting the idea of a Deliverer from the power of sin;—a thought which is foreign and even antagonistic to the idea which is uppermost in the speaker's mind. The last sentence is an exclamation, as Job breaks off, dazed by the glorious vision which he has conjured up before his mind's eye. The 'reins' are in Hebrew poetry the seat of deep emotion, and 'are consumed' = 'fail' or 'faint.'

**The Resurrection of the Body.**—It will be noticed that the passage, as above translated, does not speak of the resurrection of the body, the rendering of A.V., 'In my flesh, etc.,' being not contained in the Hebrew.[1]

The rehabilitation and quickening of the dry bones in Ezekiel's vision (xxxvii. 1-14) is clearly figurative (*vv.* 11 ff.); but there may perhaps be a reminiscence of this narrative in the post-exilic prophecy, 2 Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., where a resurrection of the body is predicted for Israel (xxvi. 19), though expressly denied for their foes (xxvi. 13, 14). Dan. xii. 2 goes a little further, in speaking of a resurrection for good and bad alike; but here again the reference is to 'many,' and apparently not to *all*.

**The Life of unbroken Communion with God.**—There remain for consideration four passages in the Psalms in which there arises the question whether the writers are expressing their hope of a life beyond the grave.

1. Ps. xvi. 8-11 :—

> 'I have set Yahwe always before me:
> Because He is at my right hand, I shall not be moved.
> Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth:
> My flesh also dwelleth in safety,
> For thou wilt not leave my soul to Shĕ'ōl;
> Neither wilt thou suffer Thy godly one to see the pit.
> Thou showest me the path of life:
> In Thy presence is fulness of joy;
> In Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.'

[1] Literally rendered, the Hebrew means '*Away from* or *Apart from my flesh*.

The rendering of *v.* 9 *b* in P.B.V., A.V., 'my flesh also shall rest in hope,' suggests reference to the body resting in the grave in hope of future resurrection. This thought, however, is not contained in the Hebrew. The term rendered 'my flesh' must refer to the *living* body; and the Psalmist simply states that he lives his life secure from all alarm of danger in the confidence of Yahwe's protecting care. Again, in *v.* 10 it is a temporal deliverance to which allusion is made: Yahwe will not abandon his soul to Shĕ'ōl, but will rescue him from the danger of physical death to which he is exposed.

The true keynote of the doctrine of immortality is, however, struck in *v.* 11. 'The path of life' means *life with God* as distinct from mere earthly life lived apart from the consciousness of God's Presence. In the bliss of this felt communion the poet is content to overlook or ignore the fact of physical death, and can speak of the pleasures which are in Yahwe's right hand as lasting *for evermore.*

2. Ps. xvii. 15:—

> 'As for me, in righteousness may I behold Thy face!
> May I be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness!'

Here the question of reference to a life beyond the grave turns upon the meaning which is attached to the expression *When I awake.* Is the poet here referring to the awakening from the sleep of death, or does he merely express the hope that every morning he may return to consciousness with a renewed sense of the bliss of Yahwe's society? The latter explanation seems to be the more probable. Such a meaning may be illustrated by the following passages:—

> 'I laid me down and slept;
> *I awaked*; for Yahwe sustaineth me' (Ps. iii. 5).

> 'How precious also are Thy thoughts unto me, O God!
> How great is the sum of them!
> If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand:
> *When I awake*, I am still with Thee' (Ps. cxxxix. 17, 18).

'When thou walkest, it shall lead thee;
When thou liest down, it shall watch over thee;
And *when thou awakest*, it shall talk with thee' (Prov. vi. 22).

3. Ps. xlix. 14, 15:—

'They are appointed as a flock for Shĕ'ōl;
Death is their shepherd:
And the upright have dominion over them in the morning;
And their form is for Shĕ'ōl to consume, that there be no habitation for it.
But God shall redeem my soul from the hand of Shĕ'ōl;
For He shall take me.'

The text of this passage is rather obscure, but it is clear that the lot of the upright is contrasted with that of the wicked. The latter can only look forward to physical death, the cheerless abode of the Underworld and the decay of the body; the former are to triumph over them *in the morning*. The meaning of this last expression has been much debated. It is thought by many to have merely a temporal reference to the dawning of happier times for the upright after the destruction of the wicked (*cf.* Mal. iv. 1-3), for whom, in contrast, there is *no dawning* from their calamity (Isa. viii. 20). On the other hand, the striking definiteness of the expression makes the present writer unable to abandon the view that the passage may contain a reference to *the Resurrection morning*. The statement of *v.* 15, *For He shall take me*, can scarcely fail to recall the account of Enoch's translation, 'He was not; *for God took him*' (Gen. v. 24 P);[2] and if, as seems quite probable, the poet is choosing his words with conscious reference to this story, then an allusion to an escape from the power of Shĕ'ōl which is more than temporary must follow almost of necessity.

4. Ps. lxxiii. 23-26:—

'Yet I am continually with Thee:
Thou holdest my right hand.
Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel,
And afterward shalt take me with glory.

[1] The verb (*lāḳaḥ*) is the same in each case.

Whom have I in heaven?
And having Thee there is nought that I desire upon earth.
Though my flesh and my heart should have wasted away,
God would be the Rock of my heart and my Portion for ever.'

This passage, even more forcibly than xvi. 11, illustrates the position from which the doctrine of the future life is really developed, namely, a conscious rising towards the ideal of communion with God which overpasses the thought of death. The *afterward* of *v.* 24*b* seems to be contrasted with what goes before—God's support and guidance during this present life—and again we notice the expression *shalt take me,* as above in xlix. 15.

Verse 26 recalls Job xix. 26 (*cf.* p. 125), but really goes beyond it, and is perhaps the highest venture of faith contained in the pages of the Old Testament.

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